

**THE STORY OF
WINDSOR CASTLE**

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**THE STORY OF
WINDSOR ■ ■
CASTLE : An Uncon-
ventional Study of the Castle
from its earliest times, together
with some account of the Anec-
dotes and vivid Personalities
connected with it ■ ■ ■ ■
■ ■ ■ by **BRUCE GRAEME****

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also
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from contemporary MSS.
by
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**HUTCHINSON & CO.
(Publishers) Ltd.
LONDON**

Made and Printed in Great Britain at
The Mayflower Press, Plymouth. William Brendon & Son, Ltd.
1937

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INTRODUCTION

IT has already been my privilege and my pleasure to write the story of the histories of two Royal palaces: Buckingham Palace and St. James's Palace. The first was published in 1928, the second in 1929. From 1930 onward it has constantly been my desire and my intention to write a third story (I dare not entitle my efforts histories), that of the most romantic of all Royal residences, Windsor Castle, but until now I have hesitated to do so. For this reason. Of Buckingham Palace I am proud to say that my book was the first long, comprehensive account of its history. As such it was happily beyond comparison, for it is only too true that comparisons are apt to be odious.

When I came to write of St. James's Palace it was to find that I was not the first. In 1894 Edgar Sheppard published his very excellent *Memorials of St. James's Palace*. In two thick volumes, Canon Sheppard's *Memorials* embraced more of the history of St. James's than my impatient self and my one volume of three hundred pages could ever hope to do. Unfortunately for me the *Memorials* had created a standard for comparison, with the consequence that the reviewer of a literary publication, whose opinion one must respect, said of my *Story of St. James's Palace*: "Those who want a fully documented history will continue to go to Canon Sheppard."

I shall confess that this reviewer temporarily damped my ardour to prepare a companion volume on Windsor Castle. For, though the history of Buckingham Palace was not generally known, and even the history of St. James's was little better known because (to quote the above-mentioned reviewer) the *Memorials* "is too big a work for the ordinary reader," what manner of target should I become for the barbed shafts of reviewers were I to write the *Story of Windsor Castle*? For who is there among us who does not know some historical incident of Windsor's history?

INTRODUCTION

Of histories of Buckingham Palace besides mine there had been none. Of histories of St. James's Palace, there had been only one, Canon Sheppard's. But alas and alack! of Windsor Castle there have been nigh on a score, two at least of so exhaustive a nature that even the most painstaking of historians could never hope to have the passionate delight (and it is a passionate delight) of unearthing some hitherto unknown secret or anecdote connected with the Castle's history. Every stick and stone has been accounted for, how much it cost, who felled or quarried it, who carved or shaped it, who made or laid it. The name and rank of every person, known or unknown, who passed inside the Castle walls has been documented, every myth, every fable, every word of gossip has been retold and republished. How could one poor impatient modern hope to overshadow the meticulous labour of Tighe and Davis who, in 1858, published nearly fifteen hundred pages of the *Annals of Windsor*? Or W. H. St. John Hope, who published five hundred and eighty-seven pages of *Windsor Castle*?

For some time, although the desire to rewrite the Story of Windsor Castle never left me, the intention did. Those fifteen hundred pages were a nightmare to me. A warning, too. "Those who want a fully documented history (of Windsor Castle) will continue to go to Tighe and Davis!" Besides, I wondered, would modern readers be interested in an anecdotal history of Windsor Castle? Buckingham Palace is not only in the heart of London, but first as the home of George V, and now as the home of George VI, it is the heart of the vast, far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations, and so of vital, living interest. To a slightly lesser degree the same might be said of St. James's, for St. James's is still the official Court of the King. Windsor Castle, on the other hand, is less in the public eye, except, perhaps, during Ascot Week. The King visits there but infrequently, and to-day the Castle is more of a museum, less of a home. It belongs to a past age, not to the present, and in the stress of twentieth-century living, the past *is* past.

Such were the arguments which called a temporary halt to my work on the story of Windsor Castle, but it was not long before I made a discovery. For several years I lectured on the three palaces. For every one demand to hear a lecture on Buckingham Palace or St. James's Palace I received five or more to hear about Windsor Castle. At last I became persuaded

that, notwithstanding the modernity of the times in which we live, Windsor Castle is deeply enshrined in the hearts of very many of us. I think, with good reason. I love every stone of Windsor Castle. I love its serenity, its Royal dignity, and, above all, its defiance of time. To me the Castle is typical of the British peoples. Upright, unchanging, simple, and (so far) impregnable.

The story of Windsor is also the story of British Royalty, and now that I have found courage to rewrite its history in the belief that there is still a desire to read about the Castle and its Royal inhabitants, it is from the more human aspect that I have planned my story. So, having said my say, and having taken the precaution, I hope, of damping the powder of my critics' guns, I cannot do better than repeat the last part of my introduction to Buckingham Palace—that I have endeavoured to produce an unconventional study of the history of Windsor Castle which I trust will be accepted as a readable story rather than as a mere recitation of dates and historical facts.

BRUCE GRAEME.

LONDON, 1937.

THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

CHAPTER I

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

THE history of Windsor Castle really begins in the reign of William the Conqueror, for he it was who first built upon the site on which the Castle now stands. Yet it seems that the locality was well known to the Romans—traces of them having been found in 1705, one mile or so distant from the Castle—and also to William's predecessors, Edward the Confessor, and Harold, son of Godwin. So, for the purpose of this story a brief glimpse into a past more remote than the days of the Norman Conquest becomes a matter of interest.

What sort of land was this England of ours before it was subjected to the Latin influence of its Norman conquerors? In a vague way we are apt to believe that, in comparison with the more publicized Norman civilization and Norman culture, the Anglo-Saxons lived in a state of semi-barbarism. This is scarcely an accurate conclusion, for the people of Normandy were admittedly impressed by the magnificence with which the English wealthier class surrounded themselves. The English nobles wore rich clothing, their ornaments were mostly of precious metals, the port of London was already a centre of considerable foreign trade. The English Church, unrent by schism, exerted more influence than did the Church in Normandy. Founded upon Common Law with its sources dating from remote antiquity, the English legal system, though not without weaknesses, was at least as worthy of admiration as Roman Law which had influenced the legal systems of every country in Western Europe. Lastly, the King of England was no other man's "man." He owed allegiance to nobody, whereas the Duke of Normandy was

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Henry's man, freely owning Henry, King of France, as his suzerain.

Nevertheless, during the reign of Edward the Confessor, England was, as a country, more backward than Normandy. Though one country, it was divided; Edward was king, but many of the earls who acknowledged him as feudal lord were stronger than he, and defiant. The Common Law was a law of localities rather than a uniform system. Petty offenders were tried by local tribunals; each tribunal had its own local laws. Blood-feud still prevailed.

Especially in the science of building were the Anglo-Saxons more backward than their conquerors. Few Anglo-Saxon buildings were higher than the ground floor and very few were of stone. The majority were built of wood, and enclosed within an earthen rampart.

Edward the Confessor, the eldest son of Ethelred the Unready, was born in the second year of the eleventh century. He spent the earlier part of his youth in the school attached to the monastery of Ely. Perhaps these years were responsible for his absorbing the piety and humility which subsequently became so marked. When Edward was eleven years old political troubles made it necessary for his father to send him and his brother Alfred to Normandy, where, except for occasional visits to England, Edward spent his life among Norman monks.

Upon the death of Hardicanute in 1042 the Witenagemot chose Edward to be King of England. Edward was in Normandy at the time, but he shortly returned to England, accompanied by Earl Godwin, whose daughter he married in 1045, and a company of earls and bishops. On the 3rd of April, 1043, he was crowned at Winchester.

Edward reigned from then until his death in 1066. Despite his surname, the Confessor, despite, too, his subsequent canonization, it is hard to believe that, as a man, he deserved the reward which the Church bestowed upon his memory. Certainly, as a king he possessed little merit. He was not a good king; he was merely less tyrannical, or more tolerant, in comparison with several of his predecessors. He was pious, he was virtuous, and consistent in his hatred of injustice and cruelty. But he was slothful, he lacked judgment and was incapable of firm decision. On one occasion only the earnest advice of his chief counsellor prevented him from ordering a massacre; on another, the same

adviser prevented his rashly plunging the country into the horrors of civil war. Indeed, Edward has been whitewashed with almost the same extravagance as Richard III has been maligned.

Although Edward scarcely appears to have merited canonization, he was, in many respects, a most worthy man. His moral life was without hint of blemish and his intense piety is undoubted, but he was a king by duty, a monk by inclination, and withal a man subject to human frailties and failings. One of these very earthly passions was his inordinate love of hunting. The inevitable cruelties of the chase scarcely seem compatible with his reputed exalted piety, but we must conclude that his conscience was immune from pin-pricks on that score, for not only was he fond of hunting but he practised it assiduously.

It is this sport which connects the name of Edward the Confessor with that of Windsor. The Windsor we know was, in the days of Edward, a forest, on the outskirts of which was the village now known as Old Windsor. At some spot in the forest, or more probably upon the site now occupied by the parish of Old Windsor, Edward erected a building.

There is ample proof that the King held Court there, but nothing to indicate whether the building was a palace, a castle, or merely a hunting lodge. One or the other, it is fortunately not difficult to imagine what it was like.

In the first place we must picture the surrounding earth-works, built as some sort of a defence against bands of robbers, enemies, and more harmless but rapacious thieves. There is only one entrance through this protective enclosure (which possibly is strengthened by a stout prickly hedge) and that is guarded by a strong gate, outside which are gathered beggars who know they will not be turned away until they have been given food and alms.

Inside the enclosure is dug a deep ditch which surrounds a high mound. On this mound stands the building inhabited by the King. The principal part of this building is the lofty hall where dine together not only the King, his Court, his guests, and his bodyguard, but also his domestics. The hall, being the centre of all communal activities, is more decorative than any other part of the building, and in it will be found wall-clothing, or tapestries portraying historical subjects, coloured curtains ornamented with images, and, of course, arms and armour which, like the tapestries, hang upon the walls, while the floor is strewn

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with rushes. Attached, or near, to this hall are the only other rooms, the bedrooms, which are simply furnished, and sometimes shared by many.

Such, it may reasonably be assumed, was the kind of primitive "palace" which stood near the banks of the Thames in the time of Edward the Confessor, and though there are no material remains to reveal more adequately the history of the building, there are a number of fables, and that these have persisted for nearly nine hundred years is good testimony to the memory and imagination of the old chroniclers.

One of the chief, and the most fabulous, of these is that, long before Edward's time, Windsor was the scene of the initiation and assembly of King Arthur and his famous Knights of the Round Table, but until the existence of King Arthur can be authenticated, many of us will continue to find it difficult to give credence to this story. Just as we shall to another, quoted at much length by William of Malmesbury, "That you may know the perfect virtue of this prince [Edward], in the power of healing more especially." One Wulwin Spillecorn, or de Spillicote, a wood-cutter, blind for the past seventeen years, one day dreamed that he was to visit eighty-seven churches and pray to the saints that his blindness be cured. Whether or no Wulwin visited eighty-seven churches is uncertain, but eventually he arrived at Edward's Court at Windsor. After much pleading Wulwin was eventually admitted into the presence of the King, whereupon the wood-cutter proceeded to relate his dream.

Edward, it seems, was interested in the story, and at the instigation of his servants, he placed his hand, dipped in water, upon the blind man, whereupon the man's sight was immediately restored. Before commenting upon this seeming miracle it is worth noting that Wulwin was thrice fortunate for, not only was his sight restored, but he was then given charge of the "Royal palace at Windsor," and he ultimately survived the King by several years.

Earlier commentators accept this story with reservation, pointing out that while William of Malmesbury's account of this episode is of interest in confirming the existence of a Royal residence at Windsor, it is not necessary to share too implicitly the chronicler's faith in the power of the saintly king to work miracles of this nature. Yet, in the light of more modern

knowledge, it becomes less difficult to believe the story of this cure. Faith healing is now such an established practice that it is impossible to deny its efficacy in certain cases. In England the touch of a hand has cured cripples of their ailments; the yearly pilgrimage to Lourdes has happily resulted in some of the pilgrims being healed of their infirmities. What happens now could have happened then. If Wulwin were cured in the manner related he very probably cured himself by the power of his own faith in the King's power, but posterity has acclaimed Edward, not Wulwin.

Another man who is believed to have been in attendance at Edward's Court at Windsor was Albert of Lotharingia, who held land at Windsor, and was fellow-clerk to Reinbald of Cirencester, the King's Chancellor, and holder of many Crown livings.

An incident that is supposed to have happened at the Court at Windsor is a fight between Harold and Tostig, the sons of Godwin. Harold, so says Roger of Wendover, was, in the year 1065, pledging the King in a cup of wine when Tostig pulled his brother's hair. Notwithstanding the presence of their King the two men engaged in a combat, and had to be separated by soldiers. Henry of Huntingdon, however, gives Winchester as the scene of this unseemly and unbrotherly exhibition, while Ailred relates that when this fight occurred, the brothers were mere boys—a far more likely tale. Finally, Vitalis records a meeting between the two brothers in 1065, when both appeared before the King at an assembly which Edward held at Britford, near Salisbury. Here Tostig accused Harold of stirring up the recent revolt against the King. This charge Harold first denied, then he proceeded to clear himself of it by a process of law, named compurgation, whereby a number of compurgators made a collective oath swearing that the accused person was innocent of the charge against him.

Noting the significance of the date 1065, and also Ailred's reference to an early enmity between the brothers, it appears possible that the compurgation proceedings were romanticized by Roger of Wendover, and Henry of Huntingdon, into the more picturesque story of a fistic encounter. True or no, Roger's version serves as added confirmation of the existence of the Court at Windsor.

Meanwhile the Royal huntsman continued to mismanage his kingdom, while daily growing more devout. On the 5th of

January, 1066, Edward, by a charter of that date, granted Windsor, with its appurtenances, to the monastery of St. Peter, "for the hope of eternal reward, the remission of all his sins, the sins of his father, mother, and all his ancestors, to the praise of Almighty God, granted as an endowment and perpetual inheritance, to the use of the Monks there, that served God, Wyndleshora (situate within, yet at the East point of the County of Berks)."

At the time of granting this charter Edward made the fact known to his subjects by informing his bishops, his earls, and all his thanes "in Berkshire and in Middlesex friendly," that, "I have given to Christ and St. Peter in Westminster, Windsor and Staines, and all that belongs, within burgh and without, with saca and soca, with toll and with theam, and with infangthef, in wood and in field, by strand and by land, in street and out of street, and in all things, as fully and as extensively as I myself first held it; and I will not suffer that any man have power there in any thing, but the abbot and monks for the need of St. Peter. God himself preserve you."

In plainer language, not only was Edward giving the land comprising Windsor and Staines to the abbot of St. Peter, but with that land went the power of judging all civil cases, and trying all criminals taken within the jurisdiction (saca and soca), the right of receiving toll, and the right of compelling a receiver of stolen goods to name the person from whom they were bought (theam), and the power to imprison and execute felons (infangthef).

The Wyndleshora mentioned above is, of course, one of the derivatives of the modern spelling of Windsor. There were others, varying according to whether it was spelled in accordance with the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin, the Norman-French, the writer's own idea, or later, the English language. Thus, besides Wyndleshora, one comes across Windlesora, Windelesoriis, Windesor, Windlesoveres, Windlesores, Windlesoren, and so on, the etymon of all of which has been ascribed by some to the "winding shore" of the river bank, and by others, to the "Windles," a stream which may once have drained the forest of Windsor.

Be the explanation what it may, Edward, on the 5th of January, 1066, granted the forest of Windsor, in perpetuity, to the abbot of St. Peter. On that same day the King died, leaving a widow, but no children; a circumstance which was to pave the way

for the country to be overrun and conquered by a foreign invader.

Properly to appreciate, not only the history of Windsor Castle, but also the causes and circumstances which brought about its existence, it is essential to understand something of the events preceding this death, and also something of the people and country on the other side of the English Channel.

Whether Edward the Confessor, though married, remained the celibate which his monkish teachings and inclinations might have urged him to be, or whether he was physically incapable of propagating children, is a problem which historians have failed to solve. But it is certain that, long before he died, it was universally recognized that Edward was never likely to produce a son whom the Witan, acting upon the hereditary principle which even then was of a remote antiquity, might proclaim king. Aware that no hereditary heir lived, there sprang into being several contenders for the coming vacancy. Chief among these was Harold Godwin—he who is supposed to have fought with his brother Tostig before the King at Windsor—and William, Duke of Normandy.

Of these two William possibly had the better claim, for he was related to Edward the Confessor through their mutual ancestor, Richard II of Normandy. Not relying solely upon consanguinity, he further claimed the crown to be rightfully his by reason of the fact that, years previously, Edward had promised him the succession.

It is a little difficult to agree with those commentators who seek to justify William's acceptance of the legality of this promise. Although the hereditary principle of succession influenced the Witan in their choice of king, it had not yet crystallized into the rigid rule of elder male succession which it later became. It was, at that time, the Witan's unalienable right to elect the king of their own choosing, and Edward owed his own accession to this right for, upon the death of Hardicanute, the Witan, in bestowing the crown upon Edward, passed over not only the claim of Swend Estrithson, nephew of Canute, but also that of a cousin of Edward, a son of his elder brother, who thus had a better hereditary right than Edward. Aware of the right of the Witan, neither Edward, as promiser, nor William, as promisee, can have seriously considered such a promise as more than a diplomatic gesture.

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The second contender was also related to Edward, but by marriage only, for Edward had married Harold's sister, Edith. Harold's only claim to the succession lay in the strength of his following, for he was the most powerful man in the kingdom, excepting only the King himself. But in days when might was so often right, especially when there arose a question of exerting a persuasive influence over the Witan, such a claim was entitled to respect.

Before returning to the time of Edward's death one important incident should be mentioned. In a year believed to be A.D. 1064, Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, and imprisoned by Count Guy according to the law of wreck. Count Guy demanded ransom for the release of his prisoner, but Harold was delivered by Duke William. Some time later Harold is supposed to have taken an oath to be William's "man." Whether or no Harold took such an oath, and if he did so, what were the circumstances of his taking it, are mysteries of history which have not yet received a satisfactory or entirely convincing explanation. True or no it is certain that William caused the story of the oath to be circulated among the princes of Christendom.

Such was the state of affairs in 1066 when Edward the Confessor died. On that day the Witan (again exerting their right not to elect the hereditary heir by passing over Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside) elected Harold king. The following day he was crowned in Westminster Abbey, the Archbishop of York performing the ceremony.

The events which were to prove of such serious consequences to England (and to Windsor) began to move rapidly to a climax. Within a few days of being crowned Harold received messengers from Duke William demanding that Harold keep his oath, and deliver the Crown to William, or possibly, to hold it of William. To all William's demands Harold replied with an emphatic refusal to fulfil any one of them.

Now, if the story of Harold's oath to be William's man be true, then by his refusal to acknowledge William as his overlord Harold was committing one of the most grievous sins against the honour of Christian princes. It might not be an exaggeration to maintain that the Christian countries were prevented from possible disintegration by word of honour for, whatever quarrels overlords might have with one another, they were usually ready

to unite in crushing any revolt on the part of a vassal, knowing well that were they to fail in so doing that each one of them, in turn, might come to be overthrown by a vassal.

Because of this code, when Harold defied his presumed liege-lord, William was immediately assured of obtaining all the assistance he required, not only from neighbouring princes, but equally from the Pope, whose Christian Holiness was shocked by the apparent breaking of a Christian oath. The Christian world united in condemning Harold's delinquency. William began his preparations for the invasion of England.

Having determined to obtain the Crown of England by force, William gradually assembled his forces at the mouth of the Dives. By the middle of August the fleet, numbering more than three thousand craft, and thus greater in numbers than any hitherto known, and an army of possibly thirty thousand men, were ready to commence operations. Then Nature played a part in the affairs of men, and in the light of subsequent events it is difficult to assess whether the interference was to the benefit or no of the Norman Duke. For over a month the troops, bottled up by contrary winds, were compelled to remain in the mouth of the Dives, instead of sailing for St. Valery Bay which had been selected as the base from which the fleet was to sail. When the fleet was able to set sail for St. Valery Bay there were many wrecks and desertions before it assembled for the second time.

Meanwhile affairs of the gravest consequence to England were taking place elsewhere, for Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, at the head of a fleet of three hundred vessels carrying ten to fifteen thousand men, set sail for England, and landed near the mouth of the Tyne, where he was joined by the traitor Tostig, who commanded a Scottish fleet, and a small Irish force under the leadership of an Irish prince.

When news of this reached Harold, the King was in the south, waiting with his army for the threatened invasion from Normandy. Such calamitous news must have dismayed him, but in that moment Harold rose to heights of dauntless courage and even his most prejudiced detractors pause to pay tribute to his generalship. He gathered together his housecarls, and as many other of his scattered troops as possible at so short a notice, then marched north, and covered the distance at what was then an incredible speed and which is still a matter of amazement.

Meanwhile Harold Hardrada had captured York, and had forced the people of York to acknowledge him as King. Harold Hardrada cannot have hoped to be King of all England, or of any part of England, without being challenged by the chosen King, but he never anticipated the possibility of King Harold's marching north with such rapidity. Hardrada divided his forces, and while they were so divided, Godwin, with his weary army, fell upon the Norwegian King. In the battle which followed Godwin gained an overwhelming victory, and both Harold Hardrada and Tostig were slain.

This was on the 27th of September. On the following day the north-westerly gale which had protected England's shores for four weeks died away. At dusk that night William of Normandy ordered his fleet to sail.

It is profitless to argue about "might have beens," but is it unreasonable to assume that a gale, such as centuries later was to help save England from foreign conquest, was largely responsible for the Norman conquest of England? Had it not raged William would have sailed for England a month sooner, and he would have had firstly to contend with an English fleet, and afterwards, with an army prepared against his coming. Had the gale blown for one more week, one or both of two things might have happened. Harold would have had time to reassemble his proper army, and the approach of winter might have discouraged William from attempting the invasion. But alas! at the most inauspicious moment for Harold and the Anglo-Saxons, the gale ceased. On the morning of the 29th, William and his army landed at Pevensey, then a land-locked harbour.

Once again Harold's great heart encouraged him and his men to herculean efforts. They marched again. With a series of long, forced marches they reached south in time to give battle to William before William had properly organized his invasion. On the 14th of October was fought a battle, named by the old chroniclers, the Battle of Senlac, but now more generally known as the Battle of Hastings.

English soldiers, properly accoutred and well armed, stood side by side with country-folk, who had to fight as best they could with pikes and forks, and unprotected by coats of mail. Opposing them were Norman and French archers, and Norman, Flemish, and Breton horsemen, mailed and helmeted, every man of them

skilled in warfare, many, indeed, were mercenaries who had spent their lives fighting. That the battle lasted as long as it did was due to Harold's generalship in his choice of site. Despite the odds against the Anglo-Saxons, numbers, fatigue, and lack of skill, they withstood successive cavalry charges. The invaders became fatigued. The defenders might yet have won the day, but William adopted a ruse which upon previous occasions Harold himself had successfully used. The Normans staged a retreat; the jubilant Anglo-Saxons broke rank—Harold was killed and the battle was over.

With Harold dead, and Anglo-Saxon resistance temporarily broken, England was open to the Norman invader. But William was, besides being a great statesman, a worthy general. Harold was dead, but north of the Thames still lived great earls capable of raising an army. To be in a position to treat as revolts all warlike activities and as rebels all who resisted his rule, William determined that his first task must be to push on to the capital, and there cause himself to be legally crowned by the Witan as King, for, as a statesman, William believed in doing nothing that had not at least a veneer of legality as its justification.

In pursuance of this purpose William cautiously pushed forward toward London. He met with no serious resistance, and soon occupied the city. Stricken by the loss of so many men, overawed by William's might, the Witan accepted the Norman Duke as their legal King. On Christmas Day, 1066, William was crowned at Westminster.

His first design accomplished, William turned his attention to the second. He was King, he occupied the capital of England, and for the moment the Saxon earls were subdued. Such a state of affairs could not last. If once the Saxons were to unite against him he and his Normans might be swept out of the country by force of numbers. He was surrounded by potential enemies. Military precautions must be taken to defeat possible alliances. To do this strongholds for his Norman troops must be built.

These William set about building, and so begins the next chapter in the history of Windsor Castle.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

DURING the early months of 1067 William continued the work of consolidating the position he had won for himself. Although he had easily overcome the feeble resistance put up by the Londoners, and although his capture of London was apparently a simple affair, it must not be overlooked that, before advancing directly upon London, William had previously taken steps to ensure that victory would be his. He did not march directly upon London from Hastings, but took a roundabout, westerly route, so making a wide circuit round the city from west to north. As he marched, so he destroyed villages along the route of his progress as a warning to Londoners of what might happen to the capital if he were forced to give battle. As we have seen, his tactics were successful, but from a study of this island's troubled history he must have realized that not for long might his continued possession of the English throne remain a peaceful one. Past conquerors had had to fight battle after battle before finally subduing the stubborn islanders. William had every intention of not doing the same. At hundreds of salient points Royal or private fortresses were built with the aid of forced Saxon labour, and immediately upon completion they were occupied by Norman troops.

William, as related above, marched into London from Kent via Sussex, Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire. In crossing Berkshire we can be quite sure that he passed near Windsor. Possibly he even stayed a while at Edward the Confessor's "palace." If so, his soldierly eye must have immediately noted the importance of building a fortress in that district, and he had not long been King before Windsor became the scene of building activity.

Past historians of Windsor Castle have sought to prove that the building which the Conqueror erected at Windsor was not

a fortress but a hunting lodge, adducing his fondness for the chase. True, William was as fond of hunting as Edward the Confessor had been, but where Windsor is concerned it is easier to believe that William put his military requirements before his personal tastes, for the site upon which the Castle now stands was an ideal situation for a fortress. From it, on a clear day, can be seen as many as twelve counties—Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent and Bedfordshire. Such a commanding position must instantly have suggested itself as an ideal site for a fortress. Yet it would be rash to dismiss altogether the possibility of William's choice having been influenced by the prospect of hunting, for he caused to be published, "By the constitution and favour of the venerable Abbot of Westminster, I have agreed for Windlesora for the King's use, the place appearing proper and convenient for a royal retirement on account of the river and its nearness to the forest for hunting, and many other royal conveniences——"

Unfortunately no account of the form or details of this structure, nor of the precise period of its erection, has yet been discovered, nor is it now likely that such an account ever will be. The only definite fact of importance known is that it was not built upon the site of Edward the Confessor's "palace," but upon the brow of a hill some two miles to the north-west. Though there is no description extant of that first Windsor Castle it is not difficult to visualize its form, for William built so many fortresses that much is known of the customary Norman type of fortification.

The Norman castles of the eleventh century relied chiefly upon the thickness and height of the walls. They were nearly always erected upon elevated sites, and were so constructed that they afforded the maximum of defence, while capable of being garrisoned by a minimum of man power. One can picture Windsor Castle, therefore, as consisting of an isolated rectangular donjon, high enough in itself to command the whole of the works, and surrounded by a dry moat. This building and moat would be further protected by an outer enceinte of unscalable massive walls which, in turn, would be surrounded by a deep ditch. These walls, being built of stone, were impervious to fire (a popular Saxon implement of warfare) and, because of the ditch, they were proof against saps.

THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

Not all Norman donjons or keeps were isolated; many formed part of the outer enceinte. To maintain that the keep of the first Windsor Castle was isolated is possibly an unwarrantable assumption, but we do know that, to-day, the keep of Windsor Castle—the Round Tower—is isolated, and it might have been so constructed in order to approximate the presumed design (though not size) of the original castle. Against this theory is the fact that, in the time of Edward III, the keep was not isolated, but formed part of the west elevation.

Meanwhile one wonders whether this fortress was built upon the land which Edward the Confessor had conveyed, and if so, how the land came into William's possession. The transfer of ownership seems somewhat involved. The land conveyed by Edward to the monks of Westminster consisted of twenty hides, and as there is every reason to believe that Edward's palace stood upon a site where *Old Windsor* now is, that is, two miles or so distant from the Castle, it should be a simple matter to calculate the distance from Old to New Windsor and so ascertain whether New Windsor could have been within the twenty hides. Unfortunately it is not known what area a hide covered.

At any rate, the twenty hides conveyed to the good Westminster monks did not long remain in their possession. In the first year of his reign William made an exchange of lands, Windsor returning to the Crown, Feringe and Wokendon going to the monks. To ratify this exchange William issued the following writ:

William the king greets William, the bishop, and Swein, the sheriff, and all my thanes in Essex friendly, and I make known to you that I will that the two lands Feringe and Wokendon, which I gave unto Westminster, in exchange for Windsor, henceforth be held with *saca* and *soca*, as fully and as extensively in everything, as they have enjoyed it therein, most firmly; and let the sheriff Sweyn deliver the land to the holy monastery to have as they had it; and I command that whatsoever may have been carried away thence, whether cattle or other property, shall be restored within seven nights after this writ has been read, by my friendship. And I will not suffer that any man deprive the holy monastery of anything that I have collected therein.

A fair exchange, but how came William, a foreigner, to be possessed of Feringe and Wokendon? By conquest, one might

assume, but this would scarcely be doing justice to William. The Bastard was an extraordinary man; his character was, above all things, contradictory. He was ruthless to those who defied him, but kind and merciful to those who readily submitted to his threats. He was a man of military genius, yet he was also a statesman. He was selfishly ambitious, yet he never allowed that ambition to control his acts. Everything he did had to be done with a semblance of right, a legal and religious right, though at that time a religious right automatically became a legal one. We have seen that, in his conquest of England, he enlisted the moral support of the Church by circulating the report that Harold had taken an oath to be William's man. Having defeated and killed Harold, William determined to be crowned King at the earliest moment, for then he would be entitled to treat the Anglo-Saxons who continued to defy him as rebels and traitors rather than as enemies. Not only had he thus the "right" forcibly to enlist the assistance of his more amenable Anglo-Saxon subjects in subduing all opposition, but, having duly defeated the rebels, he was also in a position to sequester their lands, not as a conqueror, but as a king. Thus it is very possible that the lands of Feringe and Wokendon were lands so sequestered.

Despite the Conqueror's Norman and mercenary troops, and his hundreds of fortresses, it was some years before he was able to rule unopposed. After the Anglo-Saxons had recovered from the first shock of William's easy victory the islanders became restive, and sought for a leader to sweep the invaders from the green fields of England. Alas! there was no one. At first, the two great Saxon earls, Edwin and Morcar, were too selfishly anxious to become *kings* of northern England to make common cause with their compatriots. Perhaps they were hoping that William would remain content with southern England.

Since there was no leader, there was no concerted uprising such as might have easily deprived William of his new crown. There were scattered, ill-timed rebellions, but these William easily put down. When it was too late Edwin and Morcar rose but William had no difficulty in suppressing them, and he afterwards pardoned the two earls. A year later they rebelled once more, this time aided by the Welsh.

William marched again, and again gained the victory. This time there was no mercy in the Conqueror's actions. He laid

waste to all the country between York and Durham, leaving no building standing, nor any person alive. His mercilessness was not without its effect. There were no further rebellions of note in all England. William and his few thousand armoured knights ruled England and the two million islanders without further challenge, save from Hereward "the Wake."

In the meantime William had introduced the Feudal system. The King was declared the owner of all lands. Landowners held their lands of the King; they were tenants-in-chief only. In order to ascertain the extent, value, state of cultivation and ownership of, population and tenancy of the land, in 1085 a general survey of England was ordered. This survey, the results of which were incorporated in the Domesday Book, reveals Old Windsor as being held by the King as his own demesne. Regarding New Windsor, it states that the Castle had been erected on half a hide of land—the manor of Clewer, then held by Radulfus, son of Seifrid, but *Heraldus comes tenuit. Tunc se defendebat pro V hidis, modo pro IV hidis et dimidio et castellum de Windesores est in dimidio hida*. From this it would seem that Clewer formerly belonged to King Harold. Now, the entire Godwin estates had been confiscated by William, so apparently William had leased to Radulfus four and a half hides of the manor of Clewer, of which Harold had possessed five, while retaining half a hide for the purpose of building the Castle.

The Domesday Book, which affords us so much information about the early history of Windsor Castle, also confirms the theory that the Castle was not built upon the site of Edward the Confessor's palace, for it appears that in 1085, when the Survey was taken, there was no settlement in the vicinity of the Castle, thus William must have chosen virgin soil for the site of the new fortress. The town is of later origin than the fortress, as is indeed the case with most castle towns, for the townspeople built their houses under the walls of the castle either for the sake of the protection afforded, or for the convenience of trading with the soldiery within.

That Windsor Castle was one of the first built by William in this country is evidenced, not only by the writ of exchange which William issued in the first year of his reign, but also by one of the chroniclers, Roger de Hoveden, who records that: "the King being then at Windsor, gave the archbishopric of York to Thomas," etc. This was in 1070. There is additional

written evidence (William of Malmesbury) that in 1072 William was again at Windsor, where at Whitsuntide the King settled the long-standing controversy as to the disputed authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury over the Archbishop of York.

That William was at Windsor on the two occasions mentioned above is beyond argument. Probably he was there at other times, for he is likely to have stayed there for the sake of the hunting, if for no other reason. Meanwhile he had chosen for his Constable of the Castle and Warden of the Forest one Walter Fitz Other, of whom very little seems to be known save that he was descended from a noble Roman family, and, in his turn, was the ancestor of the present Earl of Plymouth, and that, for his services to the Conqueror, he was rewarded by the grant of the manor of Eton, and other lands.

Among the variety of singular tenures by which estates were held in the days of feudal tyranny, was that of taking care of the King's mistresses! This was not particularly an uncommon service, for several manors in different parts of the kingdom were secured to their possessors by similar customs. At Bockhampton, in Berkshire, half a *yard-land* was held by the tenure of keeping six *damsels*, i.e. *whores*, at the King's charge. In the same place two *hides* of land were held by the service of keeping a kennel of the King's harriers.

In speaking of Fitz Other as Keeper or Warden of the Forest it appears that William was not satisfied with the size of Windsor Forest. To enlarge it he annexed from the monks of Abingdon part of Winkfield, and this was duly added to the Forest. These poor monks were doubly unlucky, for it is recorded that, at the time of this annexation, Walter Fitz Other "did some robbery on his own account, seizing some of their woods down Bagshot way."

Although the Constable of the Castle was a permanent appointment, it seems that garrison duty was a matter of rotation, for, as Constable, Fitz Other's "was the charge of the knights who owed castle guard, namely those of Abingdon Abbey, of Ghile de Picquigny, and of his own fief which extended into the four counties adjoining eastern Berkshire."

Another entry from the Domesday Book relating to Windsor Castle gives rise for speculation. In Berkshire eight *hagae* were destroyed at Wallingford for the Castle works. A *haga* is a close, i.e. an enclosed field, or farm courtyard, so that one

immediately wonders why eight fields were destroyed for the Castle works? Were they fields of clay? Or were they wooded fields, the destruction of which meant that the trees (oak, no doubt) had been cut down for building purposes?

That William did not stay longer or oftener at Windsor is not surprising when one reflects that, for many years after his conquest of England, he stayed nowhere for long. Circumstances kept him continually on the move; history reveals him as crushing an uprising here, quelling a rebellion elsewhere, and observing all the religious festivals. His Eastertides he spent at Winchester. Christmas was celebrated at Gloucester. At Pentecost he was at Westminster.

Not all the rebellions with which William had to deal were instigated by his Anglo-Saxon subjects. The Norman barons who had crossed the Channel with him had been rewarded for their services by the gift of lands confiscated from Saxon earls. The barons at first settled down quite happily in England, but they subsequently turned against their Royal master when they discovered that their power was far more restricted than it had been in Normandy. William suppressed the Barons' rising with the assistance of English troops—a paradoxical situation which seems to indicate that the traditional loyalty of the Briton for his king is a heritage from Anglo-Saxon forbears. William had also to fight in Normandy, where his eldest son, Robert, claiming Normandy as his own, raised the flag of rebellion.

The later years of William's life cannot have been happy ones. He had achieved great conquests; he had made Normandy a country to be feared; he had reached the summit of his ambitions, but when he had done all these things he grew fat and gross, some of his children turned against him, others died. Then, in 1087, William died in Normandy while making preparations to invade France, and his second son, William, was crowned King of England.

William Rufus—William the Red-Head—debauchee, blasphemer, homosexualist—has little place in this history. As far as is known he added nothing to the Castle building; he did not even appoint a new Constable to the Castle, for Walter Fitz Other remained Castellan until the reign of Henry I. Nevertheless William visited there occasionally, and during his

reign there occurs the first record of a prisoner being lodged there, which proves that the Castle, besides being a fortress, and a king's home, was also a prison—and so it remained until the middle of the seventeenth century.

At the time of William the Conqueror's death, William Rufus was in England. He had been sent to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the bearer of a letter from the dying King which expressed the desire that Rufus should become the King of England. As soon as the news reached England that William I was dead Rufus hurried to Westminster where he was crowned, on the 26th of September, 1087, seventeen days after the death of his father.

Rufus had not long been king when, like his father before him, he found it necessary to wage war on rebellious subjects. His chief opponent was his uncle—William the Bastard's half-brother—Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent. These dual dignities, the one spiritual, the other temporal, were convenient cloaks for misconduct, for the Bishop of Bayeux could grant absolution for the sins committed by the Earl of Kent, and the Earl of Kent could use temporal force for the benefit of the spiritual benefices of the Bishop of Bayeux. Odo had previously conspired against Rufus's father, and had had the worst of the argument. Now he joined issue with the son, only to find that Rufus was as brilliant a military leader as William I had been. The smooth-tongued Bishop, however, succeeded in securing a safe conduct to Normandy for the militant Earl. Once there, Odo inflamed Normandy into a state of civil war.

As soon as Rufus had bullied and bled England into a state of quietude he began to remember the country of his birth, on the other side of the Channel. By his acceptance of the English crown he had separated England from Normandy, for his father had bequeathed Normandy to Robert, the eldest son. Now Rufus, having thus separated the two countries by tacit agreement, sought, by conquest, to reunite them. In 1090, with a large force of English troops to support him, he sailed for Normandy. As soon as he landed many Normans, tired of Robert's inept, vacillating rule, hurried to serve under Rufus's standard. Robert, meanwhile, had been joined by Henry Beauclerc, William I's third son. The upshot of this fraternal warfare was that Rufus won the day, and having made his peace with Robert, the two elder brothers parcelled out and shared

the lands belonging to their younger brother, Henry. This transaction duly completed, Rufus returned to England.

During the remainder of his life Rufus was constantly crossing the Channel, now to fight in Normandy, or Maine, and even in France, now returning to England to quell an English rebellion, or to fight the Welsh. One such rebellion, in 1095, is of interest to this story so that we will examine it more fully, and introduce Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland.

Robert de Mowbray was the son of Roger de Montbrai, and the nephew of Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, both of whom had helped William I in his conquest of England. Sometime between 1080 and 1082 Mowbray was created Earl of Northumberland. To show his gratitude for this handsome advancement, when Rufus ascended the throne Mowbray revolted against the newly-crowned sovereign, and from his uncle's castle at Bristol, marched upon Bath to which he set fire, pillaged part of Wiltshire, and was besieging Ilchester when the rising collapsed owing to a repulse.

Mowbray's conduct called for severe punishment, but, fortunately for the Earl, the King was not strong enough to take the necessary steps and Mowbray went his way, no doubt living luxuriously on the loot which he had taken from unfortunate Bath. The next time we hear of this turbulent Earl, his opponent is Malcolm of Scotland. In 1091 Malcolm was successful. Two years later, when Malcolm again invaded England, Mowbray surprised and slew the King of the Scots. Encouraged by his success, and the richer by a considerable inheritance from his uncle, Mowbray decided to assist in an attempt to depose William Rufus. To this end he began operations by seizing four Norwegian vessels then lying off the Northumbrian coast.

When the King learned of this outrage he ordered his subject to attend the Easter Court to be held at Winchester. This Mowbray refused to do unless the King would give hostages, and pledge his troth that the Earl should come and go in security. William declined, and again ordered Mowbray to attend the Royal Court, this time to be held at Windsor.

In 1095 King William is known to have held his Court at Windsor. The Saxon Chronicle records that all the Witan attended, except the Earl of Northumberland. This open defiance was a challenge to the King's authority which William

could not overlook. As soon as the Feast of Pentecost had been celebrated the King gathered together a mixed army of English militia and mercenaries, and marched north.

Although the story of subsequent events is immaterial to this present work, it is tempting to narrate it if only to illustrate mediæval methods of warfare. With his forces behind him William encamped by the Tyne, after two months' siege, he captured the New Castle, which sheltered most of the Earl's soldiers. The King then advanced toward Bamborough Castle in which the Earl himself had taken refuge. When William arrived in the vicinity of Bamborough Castle he quickly appreciated the fact that the building was almost impregnable, so he built a strong watch tower nearby, which he called Malveisin, or Evil Neighbour, and having garrisoned it, departed for Wales to take a hand in the Welsh war.

While the King was absent the Royal troops who occupied New Castle conceived a cunning scheme for luring Mowbray from his stronghold. They made a pretence of being willing to betray their King by deserting to Mowbray, and by surrendering the New Castle to him. The Earl fell into the trap, was taken prisoner, and lodged in one of the dungeons of his own castle.

By some means which was never revealed, Mowbray escaped from the Castle—perhaps by a secret passage—and fled to his monastery at Tynemouth. The King's men apparently discovered his whereabouts, for it is recorded that Tynemouth was besieged. For six days Mowbray continued to defy his enemies, but evidently with no great success, for eventually he had to take refuge in a church, and there, after being wounded, he was taken prisoner for a second time.

Meanwhile Mowbray's wife Mathilda, to whom he had been married barely three months, continued to hold Bamborough Castle against all attacks. Unappreciative of her heroism Mowbray's captors dragged the Earl before the Castle, and there, with that lack of chivalry which one has come to associate with so-called knights of chivalry, threatened to burn out the Earl's eyes unless his wife surrendered the Castle. To this demand a bride could give only one reply, and so the insurrection came to an end.

* * * * *
WAL SALAH NO NO BAHADUR

So far this episode appears to have little connection with Windsor, but de Mowbray was to discover otherwise. A

captive of the King, he was stripped of his titles and his possessions, and thrown into a cell in Windsor Castle. There, according to most of the contemporary chroniclers, he spent the remainder of his life, but even the writer who disputes this fact admits that Mowbray must have been a prisoner in the Castle for more than thirty years, but he suggests that Mowbray became a monk for the last four years of his life. So Mowbray visited Windsor after all. During the long, long years of his imprisonment how often must he have reproached himself for not having visited the Castle as a member of the Witan, instead of waiting to be dragged there as a prisoner, and incarcerated in its dank, gloomy dungeons? If there are ghosts at Windsor, his must be one of them.

So much for de Mowbray. The Court which the Earl failed to attend was not the only one William Rufus held there. Two years later he spent Eastertide there—and although we have dismissed de Mowbray, one wonders whether, during the feasting and debauchery in which this atheist king was so fond of indulging, he ever thought of his erstwhile, rebellious subject? One imagines not. There was no place in the character of the men of those days for the modern conception of mercy and compassion, which the twentieth-century idealist, poor fool! deludes himself into believing he possesses. Those men lived a hard, short, savage life which blunted their sensibilities to physical and mental pain alike, else they could not have endured the agonies of imprisonment and torture by fire, by rack, and by wheel, with such stoic indifference. If King William II did remember his prisoner, far from being inclined to ameliorate the unfortunate man's lot, the probability is that William would have taunted de Mowbray for his stupidity in falling into the trap.

This Eastertide saw William at Windsor only because of a storm in the English Channel. It had been his intention to celebrate the festival at Winchester, and for that purpose he left Normandy, where he had been fighting as usual, and sailed for England, attended by the nobles "both of England and Normandy, with great reverence and fear." The storm delayed the Court at sea and not until the day before Easter were they able to land near Arundel. "Therefore he (the King) held his court at Windsor," says Henry of Huntingdon, though why landing at Arundel should cause this sudden change of plan the chronicler unfortunately fails to explain.

It seems that William must have remained at Windsor for more than six weeks, for he was still there at Whitsuntide. Just after that, at the head of a large body of men, he marched away from Windsor, "that he might slay all the men of Wales." In doing so he marches out of the Castle's history, for there is no evidence that he was ever there again.

For three more years he continued to give battle to his enemies, first in one country then in another. Perhaps he would have continued his turbulent career for many more years after that, but in August, 1100, while hunting in the New Forest, he was killed by an arrow, and his younger brother, Henry, ascended the throne. With the beginning of a new reign the Castle enters a new phase.



An Anglo-Saxon town.

CHAPTER III

HENRY BEAUCLERC

IN appraising the character of Henry I—surnamed Beauclerc, and the Lion of Justice—one wonders whether the place of birth has not almost as strong an influence as heredity, in creating national characteristics. To some extent the people of the U.S.A. afford a confirmation of this, for most Americans conform to a national type despite the fact that their parents may have been immigrants from a country where inhabitants possess traits directly opposed to those of the people of the New World. Unlike his elder brothers, Henry was born in England. Not only was he different from his father and brothers in many respects, but he seems to have been more of an Anglo-Saxon than a Norman. Moreover his nature was contradictory. Though he could be warlike when the necessity arose—and in mediæval days that necessity was constantly arising—his inclination was to turn to books. It has been said that he could read the Anglo-Saxon language, but whether or no, it is probable that he had a smattering of several languages.

Henry's earlier history already has been briefly sketched. He fought with Robert against Rufus, then, single-handed, fought against a combination of Rufus and Robert, and lastly, allied himself with Rufus against Robert. At the time of Rufus's death Henry also was hunting in the New Forest. As soon as he heard the news he hurried to Winchester as quickly as his horse could carry him, and there demanded the keys of the Royal treasury from the men who guarded it. At first the men refused to obey, asserting that if Rufus was dead the treasure belonged to Robert, the eldest brother. Henry had, however, taken the precaution of having a strong band of supporters accompany him, so the guards presently decided that discretion would almost certainly prove the better part of valour.

The day following the Witan met to choose a new king.

Two men only they thought worthy of being considered as claimants to the throne; Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, and Henry, the fourth son. They had good reason for choosing Henry, for Robert was away in the Holy Land, a Crusader, while Henry was at hand. In the past Robert had shown himself to be an indifferent ruler while Henry, though possessing only a small estate, had managed it well. Henry was more gentle-natured, he was a vastly better scholar, and he had been born in England.

One of Henry's first acts as King was to sign a charter—a charter of vast importance, then and subsequently, to the English, for upon it was based the ever-famous Magna Carta—which, at the expense of the nobles, considerably ameliorated the lot of the people. This charter caused Henry's accession to be received with tremendous enthusiasm, which, shortly, was rendered even more intense when the King announced his intention of marrying Edith, daughter of Malcolm III. This King of the Scots had married Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling, who was a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon-Danish kings. This proposed marriage naturally greatly delighted the English; but what was of even more importance was the fact that the Royal example was quickly followed, many of the Norman followers marrying Anglo-Saxon women. In this manner the two races became united, and a new, vital nation came into being.

This marriage, which was duly celebrated and consummated, reveals yet another difference between Henry and other members of the family. Henry was different from Rufus in that he was no homosexualist, but he differed equally from his father, for whereas William the Conqueror was apparently a moral man, satisfied with the love of one woman, Henry, both before and after marriage, was thoroughly promiscuous, and was the father of numerous illegitimate children by different women.

One characteristic was possessed alike by all the male members of the family, that of military genius. William I lost only two battles in the course of his life, and one of them was against his eldest son, Robert. Robert was equally successful as a Crusader, his was the honour of being one of the first to enter Jerusalem, after having fought magnificently at Ascalon. Rufus, whose brilliance as a leader was spoiled only by his own inability to retain enthusiasm over any lengthy action, was successfully defied by an alliance between Robert and Henry.

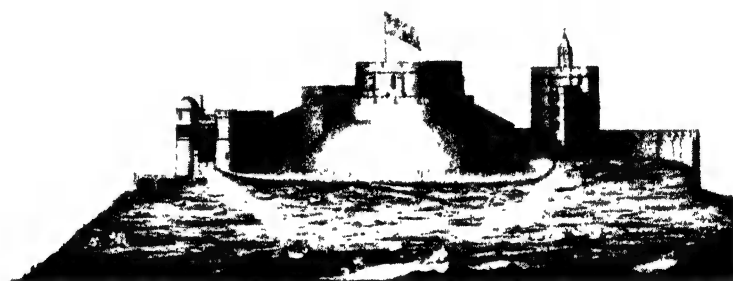
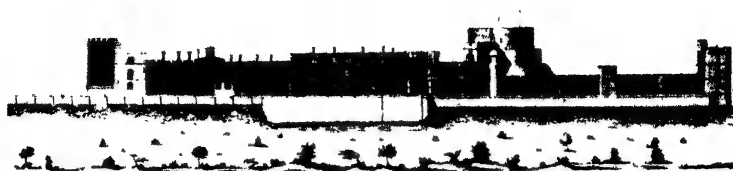
THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

Henry, who later defeated Robert on every front, had to surrender to Robert and Rufus. It seems that all these four men met defeat only when confronted with one of themselves.

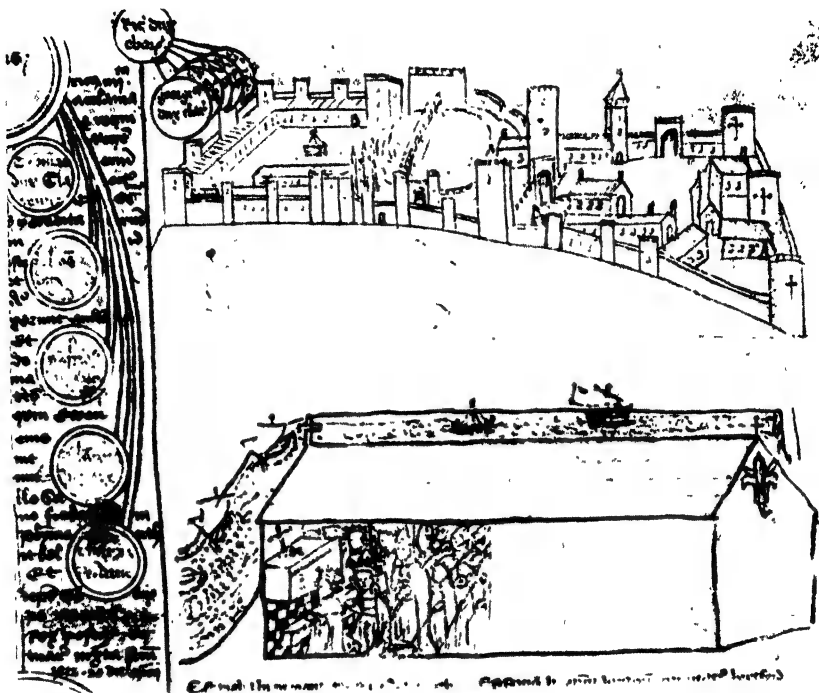
Henry's test as a warrior and general came soon after his accession and, like that of his father's and his brother's before him, the history of his reign is a record of war after war. First of all he had to subdue a coterie of Norman barons, led by Robert of Bellême, who jeered at the Royal couple, calling them Godric and Godgifu. The barons were pledged to dethrone Henry and to make his brother Robert king in his stead. Simultaneously with Bellême's rising Robert landed at Portsmouth with an army and marched on Winchester, but hearing that Henry's wife—now called by the Norman name of Matilda—was lying there, expecting her first child, the Norman Duke refused to attack, and diverted his troops northward. Meanwhile Henry marched toward Robert, and the two armies met near Alton. Before giving the signal for battle the brothers met, and instead of agreeing to fight, gave each other a kiss of peace, and arranged satisfactory terms of settlement by which Henry retained England, and Robert all Normandy, with the exception of Domfort.

With Robert no longer an enemy Henry proceeded against Bellême and the rebellious nobles, and gave them such a trouncing that, as far as England was concerned, Henry had no further trouble of any consequence to contend with for the remainder of his reign. But if England were content to remain peaceable, the same did not apply to Wales, Scotland, or Normandy. Bellême, banished to Normandy, there stirred up fresh trouble. Henry transported an army across the Channel, and warred first with Bellême, and then with Bellême and Robert in alliance. The English king administered such an overwhelming defeat to the Normans that he was able to conquer the entire duchy, thus effecting a curious reversal of fortunes for as, forty years previously, Normandy had conquered England, so England now conquered Normandy.

As soon as Norman affairs had been settled Henry returned to England. This was in March of the year 1107. Within a few days of his arrival he proceeded to Windsor Castle where he held his Easter Court. This was not the first Court he had held in the Castle, for he had celebrated Christmastide there just over two years previously, but the Easter Court of 1107 is an



The North, West and South Elevations, shewing portions of the Castle as built by successive sovereigns from Henry I to Charles II



The earliest known drawing of Windsor Castle
(Circa 1450)

important date in the Annals, for shortly afterward work began on the rebuilding and enlarging of the Castle.

Unfortunately there are but few details of these improvements, but from remains which have been discovered from time to time it is believed that the Castle as it was when the alterations were completed differed very little in design or size from the lower and middle wards as they are to-day. That is to say, that the lower and middle wards were built and designed solely for defensive purposes, for the King's private quarters occupied a separate building, protected by a ditch, to the east of the castle proper. A chapel was also erected within the walls—presumably the first chapel to be so built there—and was dedicated to Edward the Confessor (though one or two commentators say that St. Mary was the patron Saint of the chapel). Henry also "provided" five priests to carry out religious duties, and founded a chapel college for eight priests or canons whom the King maintained from his private exchequer. In view of the interest taken in the Castle by later English queens, it is not uninteresting to learn that, even in days when women were presumably treated as little better than chattels, Henry's wife, Matilda, "was principally employed, during the King's absence, in superintending the magnificent buildings at New Windsor, which were founded by Henry, and in the completion of the Royal apartments of the Tower of London." It is strange to reflect that a woman was allowed to have such a free hand in matters so essentially masculine as the building of a castle, and the fact would seem to indicate that, despite appearances to the contrary, women had as much essential influence over their menfolk as they have to-day.

In connection with the above quotation, Miss Strickland, who makes it, continues: "She, as well as Henry, patronized Gundulph, the episcopal architect, to whom England is indebted for the most magnificent and lasting of her public buildings." I do not think that, by this remark, Miss Strickland was particularly suggesting that Gundulph was the architect responsible for the alterations to Windsor Castle, but whether or no, the possibility of this being so cannot lightly be dismissed. Henry had a great respect for Gundulph, who despite his holy calling, knew better than many warriors how to build a fortress. Gundulph had built part of the Tower of London, and a castle at Rochester. It is more than likely that Henry called upon such an eminent authority to rebuild Windsor Castle. Again, the

erection of the new chapel, and the foundation of the college for eight priests, strongly suggests the influence of the Church.

Matilda seems to have had ample time to spare for semi-state as well as for private matters. Having given birth to three children in quick succession, in the first three years of her married life, thereafter she bore no more, and as Henry appears to have indulged in the companionship of other fair ladies after the first flush of married romance had worn thin one might suspect that Henry and Matilda no longer lived together as husband and wife. Such a suspicion would be unfounded, for the chroniclers affirm that Henry and Matilda always regarded each other with great affection. Perhaps the reason for Matilda's failure to supply further children is to be found in Henry's many absences, for after the birth of her son William, the third child, Matilda no longer joined the King's Court when he wandered away from the south of England. She stayed behind, acting as unofficial regent, and, with her deeds of piety, made herself extremely popular with the people. At Windsor, and elsewhere, her own Court was composed chiefly of Saxon women, three of whom, Emma, Gunilda and Christina, acted as her maids of honour, and were noted—perhaps scornfully!—as models of propriety.

Meanwhile the rebuilding of the Castle, begun in 1107, must have been completed by 1110, for in that year the King summoned his nobles to celebrate Pentecost "for the first time in the New Windsor." Not long afterwards Henry left for Normandy, where he remained until 1113, when he returned to England, and visited Windsor, for the Christmas festival. A few months later, in April, 1114, he was again at the Castle, where he admitted Raufe, Bishop of Rochester, to the see of Canterbury.

The next reference to Henry's presence at Windsor occurs seven years later, when a most important ceremony was held there—a Royal marriage. Before enlarging upon this joyful occasion one must note the death of Matilda, in 1118, followed by the death of Henry's only son, in 1120, when William was drowned in the ill-fated wreck of *The White Ship*—after which, as every schoolboy knows, King Henry never smiled again! Undoubtedly the blow was a severe one, for William's death left Henry without an heir—despite his many illegitimate

children. How customs had changed in such a comparatively short a time. Illegitimacy had been no barrier to William of Normandy's election to the duchy, but, a little less than one hundred years later, Henry, his son, was aghast at his lack of legitimate children. Apparently there could be no question of one of his bastards ascending the throne.

In the hope of yet having a male heir Henry hastily married again, this time Adelaide, daughter of Godfrey VII, Count of Louvain. This was the wedding solemnized at Windsor—but not before the occurrence of another of the unseemly quarrels which were always occurring between rival clergy. This time the disputants were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Salisbury. The Bishop claimed the right to marry the King because Windsor came within his diocese. The Archbishop, on the other hand, argued that wheresoever in the realm they might be the King and Queen were his parishioners. Apparently the Primate's arguments prevailed for it was he who conducted the ceremony, on the 24th of January, 1121, in the presence of the Council of England.

So Windsor now had another mistress, a beautiful, young girl who possessed a taste for literature and the arts to share with her Royal spouse. In most things Adelaide was different from Matilda, so that it is not surprising to find that she kept a gayer, more elegant Court. Henry must have succumbed to the charms of his second wife for we find him at Windsor that Christmas and again at the following Whitsuntide. Perhaps he did not leave Windsor much during the intervening months, for once finding solace for the lack of arms of war in the arms of his wife. A further proof of his fondness for her is the gift to her of the county of Shropshire. Unfortunately, Adelaide proved a disappointment. She was unable to present the King with a child, and her unhappy sterility was ultimately to plunge the country into civil war, and was also responsible for the occurrence at Windsor Castle of a more picturesque but significant affair—the proclamation of a woman's name as heir to the English throne.

Before that happened, however, the warrior in the King asserted itself. Back he went to Normandy, in 1126, to wage war against revolting Norman barons. As usual Henry was successful. He took many important prisoners, among them Waleran of Meulan, and Hugh of Montfort. Both these men

Henry brought back with him to England, Hugh was imprisoned at Windsor and there kept "in strong bonds," until 1129, when Hugh was able to obtain hostages and to return to his native land. Waleran, too, was kept a prisoner, but records do not reveal where. He, too, was released in 1129, but for a different reason. In his case he was freely pardoned, and received into Royal favour. Doubtless his sister brought about this happy sequel, for she became one of Henry's mistresses. Incidentally, among those who accompanied the King back to England was his daughter, Matilda, whose husband, the Emperor of Germany, had died in 1125.

In the Michaelmas of the year 1127 Windsor Castle sheltered the first of its many Royal visitors, for then "came David, the king of the Scots, from Scotland to this land; and the king Henry received him with great worship; and he continued all that year in this land." There was good reason for Henry's inviting David to England, and receiving him "with great worship," and this reason was not long in appearing. That same year Henry summoned to his Court at Windsor: "All the head men that were in England, learned and lewd. And there he engaged the archbishops, and bishops, and abbots, and earls, and all the thanes that were there, to swear England and Normandy after his day into the hands of his daughter Athelicia [Matilda], who was formerly the wife of the Emperor of Saxony."

This step was an unprecedented one. Neither in England nor in Normandy (with the possible exception of Sexburh, who may have reigned over Wessex from 673 to 674) had either country had to acknowledge a woman as ruler. Henry's demand must have astounded the mediæval lords and thanes, but they were in no position to refuse. Nevertheless, many disputes arose when each man came to take the oath—not because of the oath itself, but on the question of precedence in taking it. David, King of the Scots, was the first to swear allegiance to the daughter-heir, not as King of the Scots and the King of England's vassal, but in the capacity of an English baron. It was as to who should follow David that the first controversy arose, Stephen, Count of Boulogne, Blois, Chartres, and Mortain, nephew of the King, and Robert, Earl of Gloucester, an illegitimate son of the King's, each claimed the right. It was decided that Stephen had the better claim.

At this same festival the Archbishop of Canterbury again

became involved in a fierce altercation. This time his opponent was the Archbishop of York. In mediæval times the King wore his symbol of high rank, the crown, on most ceremonious occasions, and it was the privilege of a dignitary of the Church to place the crown on the King's head. Upon this occasion the Archbishop of York desired to crown the King, "but he was prevented by unanimous consent; and his cross-bearer, who had carried his cross into the king's chapel, was turned out, together with the cross which he was carrying." This brusque treatment did not help to calm troubled waters—the temper of the two archbishops became so heated that both of them, and the Bishop of Lincoln, hurried to Rome—by separate routes, we hope—for a spiritual decision on the important issue involved.

In the following year Henry made one of his comparatively few errors of statesmanship. Against the wishes of Matilda and those of his subjects, Henry sent her to Rouen to marry Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of the Count of Anjou. By doing this Henry not only forced her to marry into the hated Angevin family, but the King also broke his oath. According to William of Malmesbury when Henry had summoned his subjects to take the oath of allegiance to Matilda, he had given his word that she should not marry outside the realm. This may be true, for Henry had little conscience about breaking an oath. As for his reason for arranging this marriage: "It liked neither French nor English, but the King did it to have sib of the Earl of Anjou and for help against his nephew William."

By now Henry's connection with the Castle is drawing to a close. During the next few years Henry travelled between England and Normandy, but in 1132 he remained in England. One suspects that, however willing the spirit was to keep incessantly travelling to and fro, the fat body was beginning to weaken. During Christmastide that year he "lay sick at Windsor." And that, as far as we can discover, was his last visit there. In the following August he embarked for Normandy to see his daughter. He found great delight in his grandchildren, and stayed there until 1135 when he heard of a new insurrection in Wales. He prepared to make one of his usual dashes to the scene of trouble, but about this time his own son-in-law started to burn down some castles in Normandy. Henry postponed his expedition to Wales, and led his troops against a Norman

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baron, one William Talvas. It was soon after this that he ate the notorious dish of lampreys, which evidently poisoned him, for he died, a week later, at the age of sixty-seven.

Henry had many faults, but weighed in the balance his kingship was beneficial to his English subjects, if for no other reason than that he kept the barons in control, and gave England internal peace for nearly thirty-five years. If only he had left a male heir worthy to follow him the country would have had even greater reason to bless him, but alas! the news of his death was the beginning of one of England's unhappiest periods. Not until his grandson ascended the throne was this country to know the meaning of peace.

It is curious that, during the next eighteen years when England was being plundered, pillaged, ravished, racked, and tortured, when few towns or villages went unmolested, when three mounted men were enough to cause the inhabitants of a town to flee in terror, when baron waged war against baron, Windsor Castle, as far as records show, was untouched by the turbulence which swirled from one end of the country to the other. It was as though all England had forgotten the Castle, yet how could a castle which overlooked twelve counties be forgotten?

If Windsor were not stormed during these dreadful years, what was the reason for its immunity? Did it appear so impregnable that fear discouraged the attacks of ravaging barons? If so, why did the usurper Stephen not establish his headquarters there? Why did the Empress Matilda not seek the shelter of Windsor Castle instead of Arundel? There can be no answer to these questions. All that is known of the Castle during those years is that its Constable was still William Fitz Walter, who had been appointed Constable in 1100, and who retained that office until 1153, a year before Henry II became king. This Fitz Walter was the son of Fitz Other who had been the first Constable of the Castle, and it was one of these two men, more probably the son, who founded the house of "de Windsor" (not, of course, to be confounded with the present Royal family) from the office which he held. Fitz Walter's remaining Castellan for so long would seem to suggest that, during the Civil War, he was one of Stephen's men, otherwise it is improbable that Stephen would have allowed him to remain in peaceful possession of the Castle.

If this were so then we must assume that Fitz Walter was one of those who broke the oath of allegiance to Matilda, for King Henry would surely have seen that the Constable of the Castle where the oath was taken was a party to it.

Since nothing of importance appears to have affected the Castle during the years 1135 to 1154, the events of those years can be passed over with the briefest mention, for they scarcely concern us.

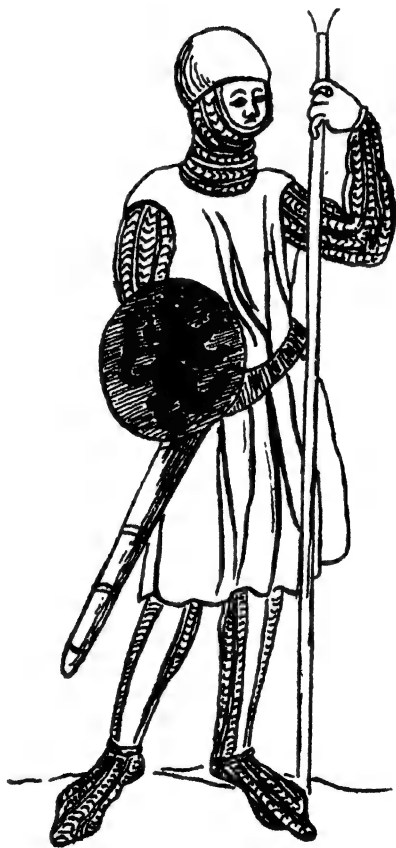
It has been seen that the most important men in Henry's dominion swore allegiance to Matilda. Among those who did so was Henry's nephew, Stephen—he who quarrelled with Robert of Gloucester as to who should follow David in swearing allegiance. This oath, in company with other nobles, he repeated in 1133. The value of it can be realized when it is recorded that, immediately Stephen heard that Henry was dead, he sailed for England, and claimed the Throne.

London welcomed him; as did many of the nobles who hated Matilda on personal grounds, and because she was an Angevin. Stephen was crowned King. But many remained true to their oath, and these conspired with Matilda who was making preparations to invade England. Stephen proved a weak king. As soon as the barons realized this, an orgy of castle-building began. Every baron of wealth built himself a stronghold, and when he felt safe from attack, proceeded to act as some petty princeling, warring against neighbouring barons, and robbing the defenceless. The state of England was becoming steadily worse when Matilda landed. She proceeded to Arundel Castle, but was successfully besieged by Stephen. He allowed her to go free, so she marched to Bristol and joined forces with Robert of Gloucester. Later her forces met with success and Stephen was made captive. Forgetful of his chivalry to her in similar circumstances Matilda refused to listen to pleas for his freedom from another Matilda, Stephen's wife.

Triumphant, the Empress Matilda marched to London, and there forced the people to acknowledge her as "Lady of England and Normandy," but before long her harsh, overbearing manner caused the Londoners to rise up against her. She had to flee to Oxford, whence she proceeded to Winchester hoping to gain the allegiance of Stephen's brother, Bishop Henry. The Empress failed and was then so successfully besieged by Stephen's wife, that she found it necessary to cut her way out of the city to

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avoid defeat by starvation. Then followed another period of civil war, which eventually drove Matilda out of the country, and left Stephen in sole possession of the throne. Stephen was not long to enjoy his victory, for in 1154 he died, and England's period of tribulation came to an end.



A mediæval soldier.

CHAPTER IV

HENRY CURTMANTEL

CONSIDERING the Englishman's traditional loyalty to the Monarchy it is amazing to learn how many "foreigners" have been their rulers—many by conquest, be it admitted. Of the six kings already mentioned, three of them were born of foreign parents in foreign lands, and even before the time of Edward the Confessor, who was more Norman than English in character, England had been ruled by Danish kings; Canute, for instance.

Now, in Henry II, England was once more to have a foreigner as king, for, though a grandson of Henry I, Henry II was born at Le Mans, in Maine, and was so much a foreigner that throughout his life he never spoke the English tongue. Yet he was to prove a greater English king than many before, and many after him.

When he came to England in the December of 1154, this was not his first visit here. From 1142 to 1146 he was at Bristol, in the home of Robert of Gloucester. In 1149 he headed an expedition to England which cannot have been of a very warlike character for he reached Carlisle, where he was knighted by his great-uncle, David, King of the Scots. In 1153 he was again in England, but this time he was extremely belligerent. By now he was twenty years of age, and by his father's death, Count of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, by his mother's death, Duke of Normandy, and through his wife, Duke of Aquitaine. As such he was a powerful foe, capable of inflicting severe harm on a country. He sailed from Normandy with thirty-six ships, and landed on the Hampshire or Dorset coast with nearly one hundred and fifty horse, and about three thousand foot soldiers. Within a few days he had taken the town of Malmesbury, and was besieging the impregnable keep of Bishop Roger's castle.

Upon hearing this news Stephen, now king again, raised an

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army and marched against Henry. The two armies faced each other across the Avon, but it was so bitterly cold that Stephen returned to London without a single arrow having been shot. Free to advance, Henry did so, demolishing a wooden tower at Wallingford, and laying siege to Crowmarsh. Stephen now thought it advisable to advance against Henry for the second time, so once again the two armies faced each other, this time across the Thames, and prepared for battle. At this point the Norman-English barons, anxious to see neither man the victor, intervened, and so Stephen and Henry stood, one on each side of the river, and shouted across the water the terms of a truce. During the following months Stephen suffered so many personal bereavements, including those of his degenerate son, Eustace, and his dearly beloved wife, Matilda, that the King grew weary in soul and was glad to make any terms of peace with Henry who, meanwhile, had conquered or otherwise secured more than thirty fortresses.

The two combatants met, and a peace was arranged which provided that Henry and Stephen should adopt each other as father and son. This meant that Stephen was to remain king as long as he lived, and that Henry would reign after him. This treaty is of especial interest to this work, for part of its terms concerned Windsor Castle, and later a charter was issued which declared: "And, by the consent of Holy Church, I have made unto the Duke such assurance of my castles and fortresses, that at my death the Duke may not suffer any damage or delay in acquiring possession of the kingdom. The Tower of London and the fortress of Windsor, with the consent of Holy Church, are delivered to Richard de Lucy, safely to be kept; and Richard de Lucy has sworn, and has delivered his son in pledge, to remain in the hands and custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that after my decease he shall deliver the castles to the Duke."

This was in 1153, a little more than a year before Stephen's death.

By this treaty a new Constable was thus appointed to the Castle, but whether because of Fitz Walter's death or because Henry desired to supplant Fitz Walter is not clear. It is more likely that Fitz Walter was dead, for he had been appointed Constable fifty-three years previously, when, presumably, he was already of mature age. Besides, de Lucy was one of Stephen's adherents, so that it seems improbable that Henry

would have particularly pressed for de Lucy's appointment at the expense of Fitz Walter.

To return to Henry Plantagenet; when Stephen died on the 24th of October, Henry was in Normandy. Immediately he heard the news he set out, but owing to contrary winds, was unable to land in England until the first week in December. Fortunately, awe of Henry's power was responsible for the country's remaining at peace during the interregnum. Once he had landed in England Henry proceeded directly to London, and was crowned at Westminster on Sunday, the 19th of December, 1154.

It was no easy task which faced the new King. We already have some idea of the state of the land at the time of his accession. The country was studded with strong fortresses occupied by merciless, powerful lords who were prepared to defy even the King. Disregarding the old Anglo-Saxon laws, which William I had confirmed and strengthened, these lords exercised a criminal jurisdiction over their unfortunate tenants from which there was no appeal. In their fortresses they maintained their private prisons, and erected their private gallows.

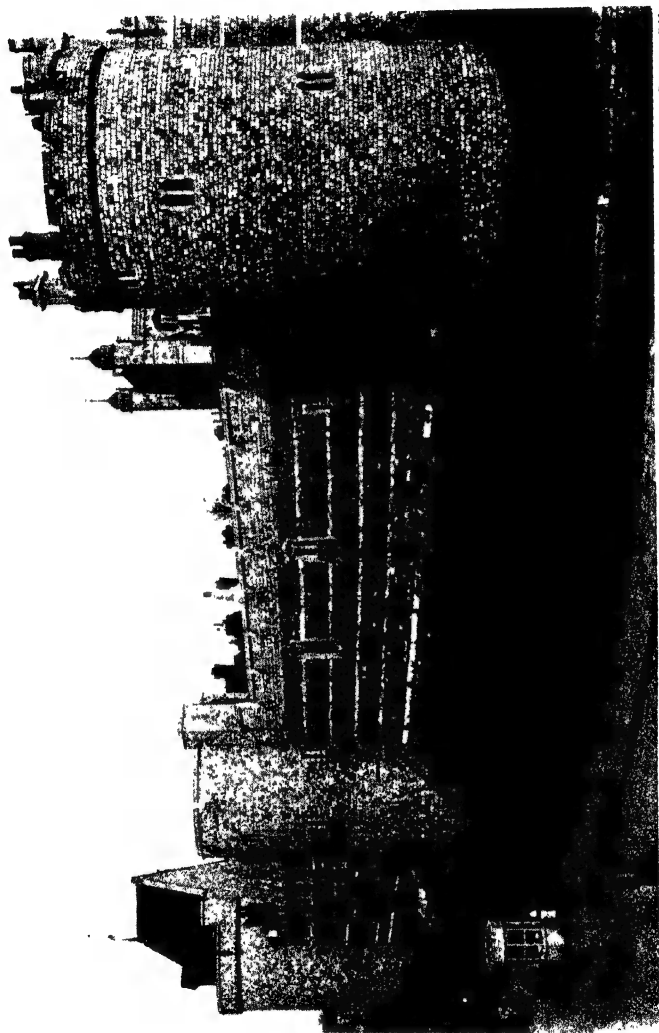
Fortunately for England, Henry—nicknamed "Henry Curtmantel" because he wore a short Angevin cape instead of the ground-length, fur-lined cloaks usually worn by the English and Norman knights—was a man capable of quelling even these turbulent barons. One is tempted to say that he exuded strength and power, this Angevin, for he was stocky, with a bull neck and broad shoulders, powerful arms, and large hands, and legs bent from incessant riding. He had a large head, red hair, a "leon-like" face, a harsh, cracked voice, and eyes which lighted with a demoniac fury when he became wrathful.

Henry's first act as king was to incur the enmity of the barons by publishing a charter declaring the restitution and confirmation of all liberties in Church and State, and reaffirming the demolition of all castles built without Royal licence. The barons were not prepared to surrender without a struggle the tyrannical rights which they had secured for themselves during the past reign. Three barons openly resisted the King's decrees, whereupon he marched against them. His might was too strong for the rebels; before the expiration of a year order had been re-established throughout the realm, with the old machinery of justice and finance beginning to work again.

The lord of an empire such as Henry now possessed could not hope to stay long in any one part of it. Consequently, when examining the history of England during this reign we find its king more often absent from the country than any king before him. Indeed, of the thirty-five years which he reigned little more than thirteen were spent in England. In such circumstances one cannot expect to find many records of Henry's visits to Windsor. Yet, such as there are reveal that he must have had a liking for Windsor, for upon many of the occasions when he did visit England he stayed at the Castle.

What is more interesting to this work is the fact that, in the reign of Henry II, begins the series of official Rolls which have given to posterity so many intimate glimpses of the history of England during the Middle Ages. From the Pipe, the Liberate, the Patent, the Exchequer and other Rolls, one is almost able to compile, if not a history of England, at least a history of the times. Many of these entries in the Rolls are apparently of insignificance, yet they are none the less remarkable, and, above all, vastly entertaining. From the Pipe Rolls of 10 Henry II, for instance, one learns of Richard de Lucy that he was given "the office of farmer of the revenue for the bailiwick of Windsor," and that he received the sum of thirty shillings for works of the kitchen, and in the nineteenth year, £50 for work on the walls. Between the twenty-second and twenty-fourth years of Henry's reign another £20 was expended on repairs to the walls, and during the twenty-fifth year £35 was spent for "works of the Castle performed by Master Osbert." Another entry reveals that, during the fourth year of Henry's reign, a sum of 9s. 11d. is paid out, for justice done upon thieves—which probably means that this amount represented the cost of erecting a gallows. Again, in the fourteenth year, Richard de Lucy disbursed 3s. for making a ditch for "Juises."

This entry, Mr. Davis explains, "is connected with the judgment of offenders by combat or by ordeal. The latter was occasionally used in this country until the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was wholly abandoned. It was founded upon the notion of a miraculous interposition of Providence on behalf of the innocent, and was of two kinds—fire ordeal and water ordeal, the former confined to persons of rank, the latter to the common people. The payment in question may refer to the preparation of that species of water ordeal consisting in casting



Country Life

West Front of the Lower Ward, showing Clewer Tower on the extreme left, Garter Tower in the middle, and Chancellor's or Salisbury Tower on the right. Clewer Tower contains the oldest known remains of the Castle



North Front of the Lower Ward, shewing Canons' Houses

suspected persons into a pond, when, if he floated without any action of swimming, his guilt was established, but if he sank (contrary to the law of gravitation) he was acquitted."

From the Pipe and Exchequer Rolls one can watch the town of Windsor slowly growing up round the walls of the Castle. When the Castle was first built apparently there was no other building within two miles of it, but before Henry II died the Rolls mention the borough of Windsor, and also one William de Bochelande who had a farm there. The building of a gallows and the ducking pool seems to point to a rapidly increasing population outside the Castle. Furthermore a vineyard was successfully cultivated, for tithes were paid on wine pressed from the grapes which grew in the Little Park, while of the wine itself, "some partes weare spent in the households, and somme sold for the kinge's profite."

Thanks to Peter of Blois, we have some idea of the kind of court held at Windsor Castle during this reign. Henry's courtiers, say Peter, among whom was Peter himself, "know neither order nor reason nor measure in their meals, or in their ridings abroad, or in their nightly watchings. Court chaplains and knights are served with bread hastily made, without leaven, from the dregs of the ale-tub—leaden bread, bread of tares, bread unbaken. The wine is turned sour or mouldy; thick, greasy, stale, flat, and smacking of pitch. I have sometimes seen even great lords served with wine so muddy that a man must needs close his eyes and clench his teeth, wry-mouthed and shuddering, and filtering the stuff rather than drinking. The ale which men drink in that place is horrid to the taste and abominable to the sight. There also (such is the concourse of people) sick and whole beasts are sold at random, with fishes even four days old, for the servants reck not whether an unhappy guest fall sick or die, so that their lords' tables be served with a multitude of dishes; we who sit at meat must needs fill our bellies with carrion, and become graves (as it were) for sundry corpses. . . . Yet even so, if the court dwell longer than usual in any town, some courtiers are ever left behind to die. I cannot endure (to say nothing of others) the vexations of the royal stewards—fawning flatterers, wicked back-biters, unprincipled extortioners; wearisome with their importunities for gifts, ungrateful for benefits received, malignant to all such as are loth to give again and again. . . . This again addeth to the courtiers' misery,

that if the King have promised to stay anywhere, and especially if the herald have publicly proclaimed this as the royal will, then be sure that he will set out at day-break, mocking all men's expectations by his sudden change of purpose. Whereby it cometh frequently to pass that such courtiers as have let themselves be bled, or have taken some purgative, must yet follow their Prince forthwith without regard to their bodies, and, setting their life on the hazard of a dice, hasten blindfold to ruin for dread of losing that which they have not, nor never shall have. Then may ye see men rush forth like madmen, sumpter-mules jostling sumpter-mules and chariots clashing against chariots in frantic confusion, a very Pandemonium made visible. Or again, if the Prince have proclaimed his purpose of setting out for a certain place with the morrow's dawn, then will he surely change his purpose; doubt not but that he will lie abed till midday. Here wait the sumpters standing under their loads, the chariots idly silent, the out-riders asleep, the royal merchants in anxious expectation, and all murmuring together: men flock round the court prostitutes and vintners (a kind of courtiers who often know the palace secrets) to get tidings of the King's journey. For the King's train swarms with play-actors and washerwomen, dicers and flatterers, taverners, waferers, buffoons, barbers, tumblers, and all birds of that feather. . . . Yet when our out-riders had wellnigh or fully gone a whole day's journey, then again would the King change his purpose and lodge elsewhere, having perchance a single house and victuals enough for himself alone, whereof no other might share: yea, and I verily believe (if I may dare so to speak) that he hath found in our anguish a keener zest to his own pleasures. We therefore, wandering for three or four miles through unknown forests, and oftentimes in the black darkness, esteemed ourselves fortunate if perchance we fell upon some vile and sordid hovel. Oftentimes the courtiers would fight bitterly and obstinately for mere huts, and contend with drawn swords for a lair which had been unworthy of contention among swine. How we and our beasts fared meanwhile on such a night may well be imagined: I myself was so divided from my train that it was scarce possible to collect the scattered remnants within three days. Almighty God on high, Thou who are the King of kings and Lord of lords, and terrible with the kings of earth, Who takest away the spirit of princes, Who givest health to kings, in Whose hand is the King's heart

and Who turnest it whithersoever Thou wilt, turn now and convert the King's heart from this his pestilent custom, that he may know himself to be but a man, and may learn by use to show the grace of royal liberality and the kindness of human compassion to those men who are drawn after him not by ambition but by necessity!"

In 1166 Windsor Castle again had the honour of receiving a King of the Scots, this time William the Lion, who visited Henry in the hope of obtaining the retrocession of the territory of Northumberland which his predecessor, and brother, Malcolm, had been weak enough to surrender. William did homage to Henry, but the visit was only partially successful, for, though Henry gave back Huntingdon, he retained Northumberland.

Apparently the first feast celebrated by Henry at Windsor was in the year 1170, when he returned from Normandy, and went to Windsor for Eastertide. On this occasion William, accompanied by his brother David, was again a guest at the Castle. According to Holinshed, the Scots visitors were "honorably entertained, and at their departure princely rewarded," and as William was only awaiting a ripe opportunity to make war on Henry, the gifts must have been given, and accepted, with considerable hypocrisy.

This opportunity was not long in arriving. Three years later, while Henry was busily conquering the Irish, Henry's three sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, his wife Eleanor, the French King, the counts of Blois, Flanders and Boulogne, and a number of barons in England, Normandy, Aquitaine and the Angevin lands entered into a general conspiracy against Henry, and war broke out. This was William of Scotland's opportunity; he also joined the conspiracy.

Against a weaker man such a powerful combination would inevitably have achieved victory, but Henry had in him the blood, not only of his Norman ancestors, but of the Angevins also. Leaving England in charge of Richard de Lucy, who was justiciar of England as well as Constable of Windsor Castle, the King gathered his forces together in Normandy, but was simultaneously attacked on two sides. Despite the difficulties which faced him Henry was so successful in repelling the invaders that he had time to make a flying visit to England where revolt had not yet broken out. When it did, under the leadership of the Earl of Leicester, it was immediately

subdued. Then, in the following spring, when Henry was crushing rebellion in Anjou and Aquitaine, William the Lion pounced. William was not successful in achieving his aim, Northumberland, and when he retired to Scotland, Richard de Lucy retaliated by a raid into Scottish territory. A truce was arranged, but later William again invaded England, and was actually taken prisoner by some English barons, and held for Henry.

By the end of 1174 Henry, with the English rebels thoroughly defeated, the French King forced to retire, and the King of the Scots a captive, was in a position to dictate terms to his enemies, which he did, though they were not severe, except in the case of the King of the Scots. In 1175, Windsor Castle was the scene of a great council which was held on the octave of the feast of St. Michael. This council, one suspects, was in the nature of being a triumphant expression on the part of the King, for he proceeded to Windsor direct from receiving the homage of the King of the Scots, and welcomed among the council, not only his son Richard, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of England, the Archbishop of Dublin and many English earls and barons, but also the Archbishop of Tuam, and the Abbot of Saint Brandon who, with Lawrence, the Chancellor, came as ambassadors from Roderic, King of Connaught. King Henry, says Holinshed, "willingly heard them, as he that was desirous to grow to some accord with those savage people by some friendly order, than to war with them that had nothing to lose: so that he might in pursuing of them seem to fish with an hook of gold." At the same council a treaty of peace with the King of Connaught was effected, by which the Irish King undertook to render tribute to Henry of every tenth hide, and to deliver hostages who would serve Henry "with their dogs and birds."

That Christmas Henry spent at the Castle, but we have no record of another visit there until the Eastertide of 1179. After Easter Windsor was again the meeting place of the great council—the Parliament of those days. This was an important session, for Richard de Lucy, having recently resigned the office of justiciary, had died. Instead of electing another single justiciary, by the common consent of the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons, and the King's son, Henry—who was, at that time, joint sovereign with his father, having been crowned in 1170—an important new measure was passed by which the King appointed three justiciar-bishops to carry on the work of secular

administration, and for this purpose the country was divided into sections, each part of which was to be controlled by one of the justiciars.

At Christmastide, 1184, Henry was again at Windsor, and as he was there again on the last day of March it is possible he remained at the Castle during the intervening period. On the second occasion he performed there the pleasant task of knighting his son John—the same John who was shortly to conspire against his father. When next Henry left Windsor—a few days later—it was for the last time. He returned there no more, for he sailed for Normandy, where he died four years later, having returned to England in the meanwhile only for the purpose of collecting more money to defray the expenses of a crusade to the Holy Land.

It is difficult—and for that matter unnecessary in this story—to sum up Henry's life and character. He is often described as a "good" king, and certainly he fettered the power of baron and churchman alike, preserved the traditions of self-government, reformed the judicial system, and by his constitutions and assizes laid the foundation of the present judicial system. One must admit his military ability, and above all, his courage. He was never daunted. Some of his most audacious expeditions were performed when the immediate outlook was distinctly ominous. Physically he was far from handsome. It is doubtful whether he was ever a happy man. His uncontrolled, passionate nature inevitably bred discontent, while in his domestic life one can only feel the utmost pity for him. Not one of his sons was a credit to him, and what he thought of them is best explained in his own words in an anecdote recorded by Fabyan.

"It is recorded," says this chronicler, "that in a chamber at Windsor he caused to be painted an eagle, with four birds, whereof three of them all scratched the body of the old eagle, and the fourth was scratching at the old eagle's eyes. When the question was asked of him, what thing that picture should signify? it was answered by him, 'This old eagle,' said he, 'is myself; and these four eagles betoken my four sons, the which cease not to pursue my death, and especially my youngest son John, which now I love most, shall most especially await and imagine my death.'"

Richard, second son of Henry II, succeeded his father to the throne. To most of us who remember the pleasure we once had

in reading stories of Robin Hood and his Merrie Men, Richard Cœur de Lion is one of the best known, and certainly the most romantic, of our earlier kings. But alas! when we examine his character our preconceived notions of Richard are confounded. Richard becomes almost an object of contempt. One characteristic alone redeems him. He was well named Cœur de Lion. He had indeed the heart of a lion. Few other men throughout the history of the world have possessed more courage than he. Tales of his bravery during the war in the Holy Land inspire awe. Again and again Saladin's fanatical Moslems, even in their moments of victory, were put to flight by Richard's prowess and heroism. At the battle for Arsuf—"the fierce King, the extraordinary King, cut down the Turks, where he turned he slashed a broad path for himself like a reaper with the sickle. Warned by the sight, he was given wide room." Largely due to Richard's ferocious hand to hand fighting the Christians temporarily won the battle. Exhausted they struggled forward to the walls of the town. The Moslems attacked again. With only fifteen men behind him Richard charged, and the Moslems were again routed.

Always the tale was the same. When the Moslems saw Richard's tall, massive figure, astride his great steed, Fauvel, thundering madly at them, his head protected by a strangely decorated cone-shaped headpiece, and his body by impenetrable armour, his gauntleted left hand holding a long, wooden lance, or a huge broadsword capable of cutting them in halves, his loud voice bellowing "Saint George! Saint George!", the enemy fled before him "like sheep."

When Richard went by ship to relieve Jaffa, which had been captured by Saladin, he saw between the shore and the city hordes of Moslems in number sufficient to daunt any man other than Richard. Against the advice of his knights he ordered a landing, and his galley was the first to reach the shore. He plunged into the water and strode forward, firing his cross-bow again and again at the massed ranks of the Moslems. When they saw the already legendary red hair and fierce face they scattered in terror; with his men behind him Richard reached the city gates, and joined forces with the beleaguered garrison who issued forth at the welcome sight of his banner. Later that night the Moslems made a surprise attack on the Christian camp. Richard hastily organized his men, but the Christian line

bent to the Moslem pressure. Once more Richard, supported by only ten men, galloped at the enemy. Using his great battle-axe he slashed his way through the Moslem forces again and again until they drew back, dismayed that they could not kill this demon king. Presently, after fighting had ceased, and the two armies faced each other, Richard, unaccompanied, rode truculently from one end of the lines to the other, daring the Moslems to venture against him, but none save Saladin's son dared accept the challenge, and Saladin, in fear for his son's life, gave the order for retreat.

Of such stuff was Richard made, but though a brave warrior he was a bad general, and a worse king. Few kings have treated their country so badly. And if he were a bad king he was a worse son. He behaved abominably to his father, and at the end of Henry's life, when Henry was fleeing from Richard, only the steadfast courage of William Marshal prevented Richard from seizing his father, and putting the dying man to the sword.

Richard I was King of England from the 6th of July, 1189, to the 6th of April, 1199. In these ten years he was in England little more than nineteen months. Probably as King he never visited Windsor Castle. Yet strange to relate, during his reign more exciting occurrences took place at the Castle than had heretofore happened. Richard's first act upon arriving in England after Henry's death was to hurry to Winchester to seize the Treasury. His second act was to have himself crowned. His third act was to bleed his country of all the money he could extract, in order that he might speedily join the Crusaders, and his fourth act, five months after his arrival, was to depart for the Holy Land, leaving behind him as chancellor William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and Hugh of Puiset, Bishop of Durham and Earl of Northumberland, as vice-chancellor, the two men to act as co-chief-justiciars. To de Puiset Richard also gave the custody of Windsor Castle and Forest, then in the hands of Roger Fitz Reinfrid.

Richard's representatives were unwisely appointed, for he could have chosen no two men of greater dissimilarity. Longchamp, though a hard worker, and loyal to his Royal master, was deformed, stunted, ugly and unpopular. De Puiset, on the other hand, was tall, handsome, and affable. The King had scarcely left England before these two began to quarrel. In 1190 Longchamp anticipated his rival by crossing to Normandy,

where he met Richard, and by submitting his case to the King, was able to return to England with the triumphant announcement that he, Longchamp, was henceforward Chief Justiciar.

In face of Longchamp's credentials—to say nothing of the fact that William seized the person of the Bishop of Durham, and threatened to keep him in custody until all demands were met—it is not surprising to learn that Hugh de Puiset was forced to recognize William's authority, and to deliver the keys of the Castle to his rival. As soon as William was sure of his ground his first act was to absolve John, Richard's brother, from the oath which John had taken, to keep out of England for a period of three years.

William was soon to find that where John was concerned the King knew his own business better than did his Chief Justiciar. Treacherous John had not long returned to England before he began to plot against his brother, thus coming into direct conflict with William, who, whatever his faults, was a loyal servant to his Royal master. John gathered round him all those who hated Richard, or Longchamp, and a mild form of civil war broke out. William soon realized he was not strong enough to hold out against John, so he expressed his willingness to compromise. The cause of William's quarrel was submitted to arbitration, and John gained the day. Among the terms of the ensuing settlement, dated the 28th of July, 1191, William agreed to deliver up Windsor Castle, which he then held, to be delivered to William of Albini, Earl of Arundel, in trust for King Richard for life. Whether William did indeed fulfil that part of the treaty which concerns the Castle is uncertain. He may possibly have done so, but in that case, he must have regained it, for less than two months later we find him in Windsor Castle, refusing to leave there to attend a conference.

"Upon this," say the chroniclers, "Earl John, and the bishops who were with him, prepared to set out for London, that, being there met by a more considerable number of persons, they might enjoy the benefit of the advice of the citizens of London, what to do as to their chancellor, who had created this confusion in the kingdom, and refused to take his trial. On the chancellor hearing this, he left Windsor and hastened to London, and while on the road it so happened that his household and knights met the knights of Earl John, on which a sharp engagement took place between them. In this affair one of the knights of

Earl John, by name Roger de Planes, lost his life; however, the Earl prevailed, and the chancellor and his men taking to flight, he entered London, and took refuge with his people in the Tower."

John followed William to London, and blockaded the Tower for three days, at the end of which the Bishop was forced to surrender. Thereafter he was tried by other justiciars and barons, deposed from all secular offices, and forced to give up the keys of the Tower and of Windsor Castle.

With William Longchamp deposed, the chancellorship, and the office of Constable to Windsor Castle, was given to the Archbishop of Rouen, one Walter de Coutances. For two years the Archbishop remained in peaceable occupation of the Castle, but then Earl John heard of Richard's capture and imprisonment, whereupon he recommenced his treacherous plotting. Determined to seize the throne he solicited the help of the French King, Philip. Philip was agreeable, so John returned to England and raising a force of foreign mercenaries, he forcibly seized Wallingford and Windsor Castles.

How John gained possession of the Castle, that is, whether he had to fight for it, or whether a mere show of force was sufficient to gain it, or whether it was voluntarily yielded up to him, is a matter which seems in doubt. St. John Hope suggests that it was given up to John, and I would feel inclined to agree with this theory, for had there been any considerable fighting the chroniclers would certainly have noted the fact.

At any rate John secured Windsor. He then declared that he had received news of King Richard's death, and that homage should be paid to him as the new king. John's unlawful acts caused consternation, and refusing to believe that their King was dead, the justiciars called the people to arms. The coasts were fortified against the threat of invasion from King Philip of France, and the justiciars moved against the castles held by John, and so, apparently for the first time in its history, the Castle was used for one of the purposes for which it was originally built.

The besiegers were led in person by the Chief Justiciar, the Archbishop of Rouen, but if Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, is to be believed, the Archbishop's efforts were not particularly inspiring or effective. It seems that there was good reason for the prelate's lack of enthusiasm, for he had several relations

within the thick walls, so that he was "not very earnest" about capturing the Castle.

Whether or no a more energetic siege would have resulted in the capture of the Castle—personally, in the light of after events, I think not—is a matter for argument, but the fact remains that the siege was continued for several weeks, and the Castle was still holding out when the war came to an end, as a result of John's having signed a truce through the influence—according to Gervase—of Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury. On this matter the chroniclers are not in agreement, for Roger de Hoveden says, referring to the justiciars, "although they had compelled the Earl of Mortain (John) to surrender, and had almost captured his Castle of Windsor, which they had besieged, took from him hostages until the feast of All Hallows. The castles of Nottingham and Tickhill were to remain in the Earl's custody, as they had been before. But the castles of Windsor, Wallingford, and the Peak were delivered into the hands of Queen Eleanor, mother of the Earl, and of other guardians, to return into his hands should his brother the King not come back in the meanwhile."

As will be seen, the Castle was later to withstand successfully a far fiercer siege than that of the Chief Justiciar. Therefore it is not easy to believe Roger when he says that the justiciars "had almost captured his Castle of Windsor." Gervase's account is preferable. Nevertheless, the Castle did not come through the attack unscathed. From the Pipe Rolls one learns of an outlay "on the repair of the gate, and the bridge, and the *camera*, and of other of the King's houses which were broken and burnt outside the King's castle of Windsor, through the war." Unfortunately the amount, except for the pence, in fact, 5d., has been rubbed out by time.

As far as personalities are concerned there is little else in connection with the Castle to record as long as Richard lived. On the expiration of the truce referred to above, the Castle passed into the hands of Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Rouen, who had, meanwhile, gone to Germany, to join Richard. During the rest of Richard's reign various repairs were made to the Castle. In 1195-6, for instance, a buttress to bolster up the mount was commenced, and repairs to the King's cloister were undertaken. The ditch between the King's houses and the mount was levelled. In 1197-9 more was spent

on repairing the King's houses, and the King's hall, and again, on the King's houses.

So much for Richard Cœur de Lion. Having bled England for money to pay his ransom, and money to start a new war with France, he crossed to Normandy, never to return more to England. During a minor affray, through a most ridiculous, petty quarrel the King received his death wound. He saw the man who fired the fatal arrow at him, but disdained to step away from the line of flight until it was too late. The arrow buried itself in his shoulder, the wound became gangrenous and he died. Thus came John, who for so many years had desired the crown of England, to achieve his ambition. Once more a new chapter in the history of the Castle begins—a chapter that is spectacular, inconclusive and poignant.



Mediæval archer

CHAPTER V

JOHN LACKLAND

TO read a biographical study of any king of England written in the last century, and then to compare it to one written in the present century, leaves one in doubt as to whether the subject of the biography can possibly be the same person. Past and present biographers are rarely in agreement as to character. Indeed, not only are they in discord, but that discord is complete and unbridgeable, so great is the gap between the opinion of to-day and the judgment of yesterday. Thus many will learn with amusement that Richard III is no longer a Royal Murderer; that Richard I does not head the list of noble English kings; that John is not at the bottom of the list of ignoble kings. "King John," says the modern biographer, "is not nature's enemy—We like him for loving his lovely wife to the point of delirium—If he borrowed freely, he lent generously—He forgave easily. He stood by his friends. He endured men whom he disliked because of their honesty of purpose—He was devoted to his business of governing——"

Is this the King John for whom we have nurtured hatred from the moment we were first taught history, the same King John who was forced to sign the Magna Carta? Surely not! And yet, see what yet another modern biographer says of him: "To understand John one must seek the cause for such effects, then having found them, sympathize with a man driven to extremes by a devil planted in him. . . . No man is wholly evil or wholly good, no man can justly be charged with actions to the performing of which he was often driven by the heritage his father gave him." In other words, John was not to blame for his misdeeds, but his father, Henry II, for having passed on to his son the Angevin stock—which stock, however, did not prevent that same father, Henry II, from being labelled a "good king." Of course, no man is wholly evil or wholly good, but when one weighs up

John's evil with his good, the scales are heavily overbalanced on the wrong side.

John was Henry's eighth child, and fifth son. Henry had a large empire to parcel out, but by the time he had bestowed this and that upon the first four sons, apparently there was nothing left for poor John—*Jean Sans Terre*—John Lackland. Nothing but affection, that is to say. Henry had more love for John than for any of his other children, but John did not desire love. His ambition was power, wealth, and the time and opportunity "to wench" as the older historians say.

John's early life, before he became king, has already been briefly outlined in previous chapters. We saw him join Richard in a conspiracy against his father, and so inspire Henry's last conscious words: "Can it be? John, my darling child, my very heart, for love of whom I have brought upon me all this torment, has he forsaken me? Let things go as they will. I care no longer for myself and for the world." We have seen this same John spreading false rumours about Richard's death so that he could claim the throne, and when he was not believed, we have seen him leading foreign mercenaries against the very subjects over whom he wished to reign. And if, later, we were to follow him to Normandy, we should see him as the probable murderer of his nephew, Arthur, for even your modern biographer admits that "the conclusion is inevitable that John murdered him either with his own hands or by the hands of others."

Such was the man who followed heroic Richard to the throne of England, and it is almost provoking that this man has to feature more prominently in the story of Windsor Castle than any before him.

John became king and shortly afterwards Windsor Castle became the subject of controversy. At the time of his truce with the barons, whereby he delivered the Castle to his mother, the Dowager Queen Eleanor, and to Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, the immediate custody of the Castle was vested in one Stephen of Thurnham, as Constable. Stephen evidently held the office of Walter, as Chief Justiciar. Two years after John ascended the throne, Walter was ordered to join John in Normandy. By going abroad Walter had to relinquish the office of Chancellor and Chief Justiciar, and, at the command of the King, he also delivered the Castles of Dover and Windsor to the chamberlain, Hubert de Burgh. Possibly de Burgh had no

liking for Stephen, for soon afterward John FitzHugh became Constable.

Not many months later, in May, 1192, Hubert Walter returned to England, whereupon letters patent were directed to FitzHugh to deliver the Castle of Windsor once more to the Archbishop. These letters patent FitzHugh ignored, for, with an impertinent courage to which one must pay tribute, he refused to deliver the Castle, saying he was coming to see the King. Fresh letters patent were issued five weeks later. Records fail to reveal whether FitzHugh obeyed this second Royal command, but it is a significant fact that, in 1204, he was still Constable. In 1205, however, a Robert Vipont became Constable, so evidently FitzHugh had at last obeyed the King's command. But Vipont was not Constable for long. Before the end of the year FitzHugh once more had the custody of the Castle, so it seems that his optimism in "coming to the King" was not unfounded.

During the first two years of his reign, John had visited the Castle on several occasions, but while the events described above were happening he was in Normandy. Returning to England in the last month of 1203, John's first visit to Windsor was in July, when he stayed two days. In October he was there again for two days, in the following January for three days, and in April of that year, for nearly two weeks. So could one continue to describe his visits there, and how long he stayed, so conscientious are the Rolls, but they make dry reading. More interesting entries are those referring to the provender required by the King whenever he visited Windsor—especially when his stay was for the two weeks already mentioned. On that occasion one Reginald de Cornhill was required to send to the Castle two small casks of good wine—and a manuscript entitled *Romance of the History of England*. On other occasions there was ordered for the King's use, gold plate, almonds, saffron, one thousand ells of woven cloth—and for the Christmas of 1213, "twenty tuns of good and new wine for the household, as well Gascoigny as French wine, and four tuns of best wine for the King's own use, two hundred head of swine, one thousand capons, five hundred pounds of wax, fifty pounds of white bread, two pounds of saffron, one hundred pounds of good and fresh almonds, two dozen towels, one thousand yards of woven cloth, fifty yards of fine cloth." From this Christmas order one would gather that it was King John's intention to feast right merrily over the Christmastide!

Provisions were not always ingoing. On one occasion, in 1214, the Constable of the Castle, and William Barbet, Keeper of the Royal apartments, were commanded to *sell* the King's wine, also a quantity of bacon which was likely to spoil by being kept too long.

Before the gargantuan Christmas feast of 1213 took place, the Castle was to be the scene of one of the vilest deeds ever perpetrated by a Christian monarch. The story of it reads like a fantasy, invented by one of the chroniclers in an expansive moment, but although one or two of the later historians have attempted, with little success, to place the venue at Corfe Castle, none has disputed the facts of the crime, which are these.

Among those in high favour with the King at the time of the Coronation was William de Braose, whose ancestor had come to England with William the Conqueror. He went with John to Normandy, but, through complications caused by Arthur's death, de Braose was given a grant of the city of Limerick in ferm. For a few years he remained in the King's favour, but then, being in arrears for the ferm of Limerick, a quarrel took place, and de Braose had to surrender several properties in pledge. Even then he continued to pay nothing, and was suspected of conspiracy against the King. The King's next step was to demand hostages, who would remain in the King's custody until the payment of the money due. To this demand William's wife, Maud, is supposed to have replied, with more rashness than tact, that "she would not entrust her child to the person who could slay his own nephew." As a consequence of this impertinent message the King sent a force to arrest de Braose, but, with his wife and family, he fled to Ireland. There he remained at peace for a while, but when John's invasion of Ireland became imminent de Braose returned to Wales, where, later, he met the King and made a peace offering of 40,000 marks. John refused to treat, insisting that he must negotiate with William's wife, Maud, still in Ireland. Maud fled to Scotland, but was ultimately arrested with her son and given into the King's custody, there to be kept until the sum of 40,000 marks was paid. Neither husband nor wife would pay, so de Braose was outlawed. He succeeded in escaping from the country, but Maud, and her son, William, remained behind.

Possibly because her dauntless spirit was at last beginning to quail Maud is supposed to have tried to "propitiate the King

by sending to Windsor as a present to the Queen a herd of four hundred cows, all white as milk, save the ears, which were red. This unique herd lowered in the Royal pastures, but the donor was brought a prisoner to the Castle." How true or otherwise may be this pretty little story of a *unique* herd of cows, it is a fact that Maud and her son were sent as prisoners first to Bristol, then afterwards, to Windsor Castle. There the unhappy woman had reason to repent her impolitic words, for she and her son were shut up in a cell and starved to death.

Even allowing for mediæval brutality it is difficult to believe in the veracity of this story. Yet there can be little doubt about its authenticity. All the contemporary chroniclers have noted the crime; although their stories vary in some particulars, in essence they agree, with the exception of one anonymous writer who records Corfe Castle as the scene of tragedy. Perhaps it is of further significance to note that several grants—conscience money, perhaps—were made by King John to members of the de Braose family during the next few years. To Margaret de Lacy, daughter, a piece of land in the forest of Acornbury; to a daughter-in-law the town of Buckingham.

This episode of de Braose occurred about the middle of John's unhappy reign. In the years preceding it John had been steadily frittering away the vast empire which he had inherited. For years France had been gazing with covetous eyes at Normandy, but as long as Richard lived no serious effort was made to conquer it, for it was sufficient for Richard to appear on the scene to have Philip of France hurriedly retreating. John—happily for the English people of coming generations—was neither a bold warrior like his brother, nor a brilliant leader, like his father. He was indolent; when he had the power to strike France a blow from which France might not have recovered for many years, he delayed, and the chance was gone. Soon the positions were reversed. France overran Normandy, and the Duchy was for evermore lost to England.

John's next quarrel was with the Pope. It was a bitter struggle, which resulted in England being placed under an interdict. This lasted for four years, and having lasted so long might have lasted indefinitely, but at the last moment, when it seemed that England might break away permanently from Rome, the threat of a French invasion caused John—sometimes a brave man, but more often a coward—to submit to the Pope. Not only

did he agree to all the Pope's demands, but he surrendered his kingdom to the Pope's legate, later receiving it back again as a fief of Rome, a humiliating act which was to involve England and Rome in a series of quarrels that lasted until the Reformation.

John's subsequent acts became more foolish, more harsh, until all parties were against him, church, barons, and commons. War between the King and his subjects became inevitable. John hired mercenaries to fill his castles, that of Windsor among them; his people flocked to the assistance of the barons. Before long John realized that he had to face a united country—and once more his courage failed him. On the 10th of May, 1215, at Windsor, he agreed to an armistice, for the purpose of discussing terms of peace. These were severe, but as previously he had accepted all the terms which the Pope had tried to force upon him, so now he did the same with the barons. As a result of this armistice the famous Magna Carta was drafted, and later it was agreed that the King should meet his subjects at Runnymede, a place on the river between Staines and Windsor, for the purpose of signing and sealing the document formally.

During the month of June King John stayed at Windsor Castle on the first three days. During the week following he was absent from the Castle, being at Winchester part of that time. On the 10th of June he returned to Windsor, and there stayed until the 25th day. During those fifteen days (the longest period of time John spent at Windsor during his reign) the barons, armed as if for battle, assembled in the fields round about Runnymede, and their numbers can best be gauged by the chronicler who records that "it is useless to enumerate those who were with the barons, for they included almost the whole nobility of England." Each day, from Monday the 15th until Tuesday the 23rd, John proceeded from the Castle to Runnymede, and there discussed the terms of the Magna Carta with the barons. Probably on the 23rd the charter received his signature, for that was the last day he went to Runnymede. Three days later he left Windsor to go to Odiham and Winchester.

All might now have been well in the country. The Magna Carta had been signed, terms of peace had been agreed between the King and his subjects, castles had been surrendered, and hostages given or delivered up. But it was not to be. At first John "whetted his teeth, and did bite now on one staff, now on another, as he walked, and oft brake the same in pieces when he had

done, and with such disordered behaviour and furious gestures he uttered his grief." This grief did not last. John was an Angevin. Like his father he had the Angevin insane demoniac temper. He started to plot his revenge; in doing so "he gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, seized sticks and straw and gnawed them like a madman, or tore them to scraps in his fingers."

Four months later war broke out again. Though "almost the whole nobility of England" apparently had been ranged against John on the fields of Runnymede, during the ensuing months circumstances caused many of the barons to become his allies again. With the help of his mercenaries and his English allies John raced about the country, relieving his friends, and revenging himself upon his enemies. Quickly he recovered much of his old power, to such an extent that the barons had to appeal to the King of France for help, as the price of which they agreed to recognize Philip's son, Louis, as their king. This offer was too attractive to be refused; in due course Louis landed in England with a foreign army. Before long Louis was master of the greater part of the kingdom, although several castles held out against him, among them notably Windsor and Dover. At this point it is interesting to note that on the 22nd of April, 1216, "The king to all the foresters, verderers, and other officers of the forest of Windsor: Know that we have committed to our beloved and faithful Engelard de Cygony the custody of the castle of Windsor, with the forest, and all its appurtenances, during our pleasure, and therefore we command you that you assist and obey the said Engelard in all things, etc." It was this Engelard who, with sixty knights, held out against the might and power of the English barons. The barons, having ravaged Norfolk and Suffolk, and exacted heavy ransom from the big towns, later "assembled a great army, under the leadership of the Count of Nevers, and laid siege to the Castle of Windsor with engines of war, which they brought close to it, and fiercely attacked the defences. But the Constable of the Castle was — a man very skilful in the art of war, and with him were sixty knights and their following. These repeatedly made sorties and strove to drive the enemy from the walls." That these sorties were often successful is confirmed by a French chronicler who says that the besieged twice cut the beam of the attackers' catapult, and that during one engagement "a knight of Artois, called William de Ceris, was killed, lamented by few, for he was hated much."

While this siege, and the siege of Dover Castle, was occupying the attention of the barons' army and the French army respectively, John skulked in Wales, ravaging all lands, within striking distance, that belonged to the barons who had joined Louis. After Windsor had withstood nearly two months' siege John came to the conclusion that it was time to relieve it. He collected a Welsh army, and set out for Windsor from Corfe. Soon he was so near to the Castle that during the night his Welsh bowmen shot their arrows at the besiegers. The barons prepared for battle, but a week went by without John's having made the anticipated attack. At the end of that time the King suddenly, and for no explainable reason, except cowardice, withdrew from the district, and marched his Welsh army to the eastern counties, where he adopted his old tactics of ravaging the country.

At this point the situation at Windsor becomes confused, for the accounts of the chroniclers conflict with one another. Some say that the barons had continued their efforts to capture the Castle even while they were expecting the King to attack, but that when news reached them of John's destructive work in Cambridgeshire and Essex they raised the siege and chased after the King in the hope of taking him prisoner. On the other hand certain writers maintain that the Count of Nevers was bribed, either by John, or by Engelard, to use John's presence in the eastern counties as an excuse for retiring from the Castle.

Whatever the truth may be, the fact remains that the Castle successfully resisted more than two months' siege, and whether or no de Nevers was subsequently bribed to raise the siege, while it lasted it was a most determined one. The Castle was attacked again and again, its walls were constantly battered by engines of war, and by huge rocks hurled at them from the catapult. Presumably its defenders had to live upon such provisions as they had succeeded in storing before the siege. In these circumstances it is hard to believe that the Castle nearly capitulated to the half-hearted attack which had been launched at it during the previous reign.

John had not long to live after the raising of the Castle siege. The baronial army from Windsor pursued the King until the 16th of September, and then retired. John continued his merciless rape of the countryside, even to the extent of destroying churches. Early in October, however, after losing all his

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baggage and his treasure in circumstances known even to those who have remembered little of English history, he suffered from an attack of dysentery, followed by fever. From this illness he died on the 19th of the same month, leaving behind a son who ascended the throne as Henry III.



A fourteenth-century poniard.

CHAPTER VI

HENRY OF WINCHESTER

HENRY III, John's eldest son, was only nine years old when he came to the throne. Twice in his lifetime, the first time in 1209 when an oath of fealty to the infant prince was taken, and again when he was on his deathbed, John had declared Henry his heir. This fact alone would have caused the majority of the barons to proclaim Henry king, despite his youth, and despite the Angevin blood in him, but there was another factor which made many Englishmen anxious to see the young heir crowned—the continued presence in England of Louis of France and his foreign army. The barons had invited Louis to leap on their backs; but now, like the legendary old sinner of Sinbad's time, Louis was not anxious to relinquish his comfortable and commanding position.

Henry was crowned on the 28th of October, and William Marshal—the same chivalrous warrior whom we saw defending Henry II against Richard, and who was, therefore, attesting his allegiance to his fourth monarch—was made regent. It became his task to deport Louis and his army, still desperately endeavouring to capture Dover Castle. Marshal requested Louis to take his departure, rightly pointing out that now King John was dead the barons had no enemy to fight. Louis claimed the throne by reason of the barons having promised it to him, but foolishly he returned to France for reinforcements instead of offering battle then and there. By the time he returned to England most of his English allies had deserted him. Nevertheless he started a campaign to seize the Crown, while he sent to France for still more reinforcements. After some skirmishing Louis was decisively defeated at Lincoln and about the same time his old enemy, Hubert de Burgh, scattered the French reinforcements in the Channel near Dover. These two defeats decided Louis to give up any hope of seizing the throne. A truce was accordingly arranged.

It now becomes interesting, as far as this history is concerned, to mention as pretty a specimen of a ruffianly adventurer as mediæval times ever produced, namely Falkes de Breauté. His was a nature to please a man of King John's character, and during that reign Falkes rose to high favour. At one time he wasted some of the eastern counties, destroyed a number of castles and parks, set fire to the suburbs of London, destroyed the town of Hanslope, and reduced Bedford Castle. John was so pleased with this tale of death and destruction that he rewarded Falkes with the custody of several castles, Windsor among them. This was in 1215. From the men garrisoning these castles Falkes formed a company as unscrupulous as himself. With them at his back he took Worcester, put the citizens to torture for the purpose of extorting treasure, and plundered the abbey. His subsequent movements are less certain, but though the Victoria County History says that "The invasion of England . . . was followed by the siege of Windsor, which was held for the King by Fawkes de Breauté, a Norman adventurer, and one of the chief of John's evil counsellors," it seems very doubtful that he helped in the defence of the Castle, for he was busy elsewhere. Yet he must have returned there soon after John's death, for, on the 22nd of January, following the accession of the new King, "the wicked robber, Falkasius, assembled a force of knights and robbers from the garrisons of the castles of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windsor, and went to Saint Albans, it being the night of Saint Vincent's day, at dusk, and making an unexpected attack on the place, pillaged it, and made prisoners of men and children, whom he committed to close confinement." Besides sacking the town he also entered the abbey, and obtained 100 pounds of silver from the Abbot as a bribe not to sack the place. This raid which was probably made from Windsor Castle had a sequel. Owing to a dream Falkes later hastened back to the abbey and, kneeling before the Abbot, confessed his sins, then bared his back to receive a whipping from each monk in turn. His punishment at an end he advanced toward the Abbot. "My wife," he said, "has made me do this for a dream; but if you want me to restore you what I took from you I will not listen to you." Saying which he quickly departed.

Perhaps this is a minor episode which should have no place in this history, but at least it creates a slight picture of those times. Yet does it help us to understand them? Falkes gave his allegiance

to John, and also to Henry, for Henry seems to have made his headquarters at Windsor until peace with Louis was effected, which was not until September of the year 1217, roughly a year after Henry had ascended the throne. Furthermore, Falkes subsequently fought with conspicuous bravery in the Royal army against Louis. Yet, in the January of 1217, when the King was in the vicinity of Windsor, perhaps even at the Castle, Falkes did not hesitate to plunder and rob one of the King's towns!

While all these events had been taking place Engelard de Cygony continued to hold the office of Constable at the Castle—as well he might, considering his loyalty to John, which Henry was quick to recognize. But if Henry were pleased to have Engelard at the Castle, the people around were not. In those times Constables possessed very wide powers, ruled with a strong hand, and were “often appointed as farmers of the whole bailiwick of Windsor; thus their sway extended far and wide and the neighbouring manor groaned under their exactions and depredations.” Engelard de Cygony was, apparently, no exception to this rule, for, in 1220, the people complained to the King that his Constable had enclosed their pastures, contrary to the charter of Henry II. Henry promised to adjust this matter, but though Hugh de Nevill and John FitzHugh were commanded to examine the complaints, and make any necessary restorations, very probably nothing more was done about it.

In the following year, 1221, began the first of the improvements to the Castle which were to change it out of all recognition, for despite his many faults Henry had a cultivated and lofty mind, and loved every form of art, a characteristic of his which later was to have an important bearing on the story of the Castle. Though many records serve to prove beyond doubt that the first Castle was erected by William the Conqueror, there are now no actual traces of such buildings. The earliest masonry to be found in the Castle is that of Henry II—bits of the outer walls which are now the lodgings of the Military Knights, a longish strip of wall, about 90 feet in length, behind the Canon's residence, parts of the Tower commanding the Hundred Steps, the Winchester Tower, the lower and outer wall of the Round Tower, and in the upper ward, a considerable part of the outer walls facing east, and north, portions of the Prince of Wales's Tower, and portions of the walls comprising the Servants' Hall and the Steward's Room.

In the meantime Henry III's first thought was to repair the destruction caused by the siege in 1216. Thus a Close Roll reveals a writ directing payment of more than thirteen pounds to Cygony "for building a wall of our Castle of Windsor which had been destroyed," and a similar amount "for the works" of the Castle. In the same year, £14 7s. 6d. was spent also on repairs to the Castle.

Following these payments there is a lapse of two years during which no large sum was expended on the Castle, but from 1224 forward money was lavished on the buildings. A meticulous account of these items, reprinted from the various State Rolls already mentioned, is to be found in St. John Hope's terrific and beautiful work on the Castle, and it is not proposed here to follow that writer's example, save as to items which are of particular interest, or which, in these prosaic days, we are apt to view with amused tolerance. The net result of Henry's spending was to see this war-scarred fortress emerge into the beginnings of the stately palace which Windsor is to-day. When Henry III ascended the throne Windsor Castle was little more than a fortified square, roughly comprising the lower ward, the keep, called the middle ward, and the private apartments, which occupied the upper ward. To take these three wards in the same order, the defensive walls and towers were either considerably strengthened, or, as St. John Hope suggests, they were entirely rebuilt, stonework being substituted for timber palisades protected by earthworks. In my opinion the lower bailey was built of masonry long before the time of Henry III, and the fact that de Cygony successfully defended the Castle against engines of war which, in other parts of the country, had speedily brought about the surrender of besieged castles, would surely suggest that the walls were stronger than mere palisades.

Speaking of these same engines of war Henry—or perhaps Engeland—was evidently much impressed by them, for he gave an order for the erection of one at Windsor Castle, no doubt in the lower ward. This trebucket, or catapult, caused a considerable number of entries in the Rolls. In September, 1224, timber for making a trebucket was sent from Dover to Windsor. So was "Master Jordan our carpenter who made our trebucket at Dover." In November the sheriffs of London were commanded to send to Dover for eight brass wheels. Evidently these catapults were not made in a day, for more than two years



Country Life

King Henry III's Tower, built 1223-5



From Pyne's Royal Residences

The Great Kitchen in the Upper Ward

later there was a "*Liberate* to Jordan, the carpenter, who is making the king's catapult at Windlesore, two marks in part payment of his wages."

Poor Jordan must have been continually requesting the payment of his present and past wages. On the 5th of April, 1227, there was another *liberate* to Jordan. This time he received five marks in part payment of his wages. On the 31st of July, 1228, Master Jordan received 5½ marks. A little less than a year later the *liberate* to "Jordan the king's catapult-maker" calls for 10 marks for arrears of wages.

By the end of Henry III's reign the entire outer wall overlooking Castle Hill had been rebuilt. This included the Clewer Tower, the Garter's Tower, and the Chancellor's Tower, and the Tower, on the southern side of the Castle, joining the lower and middle wards, known as Henry III's Tower. These walls and towers are still very much as Henry III built them, though parts of the masonry have necessarily been renovated from time to time.

The rebuilding of the walls and towers was not the only work undertaken during this reign. Indeed, for the greater part of it, the place must have been a beehive of activity, except for a period of three years following a writ issued on the 18th of July, 1231, to the Constable "that he cause all the King's carpenters who are in the Castle of Windsor to come after the King towards the parts of Shropshire, with their tools, only master Nicholas the carpenter being retained by him to attend to the King's works in the aforesaid Castle." This writ evidently refers to the Welsh wars upon which Henry was then engaged, when the carpenters would no doubt be required to turn their attention from protecting a castle to destroying a castle!

Upon the expiration of the Welsh wars, and the return of the carpenters to Windsor Castle, work proceeded apace. The King ordered a great kitchen to be built, then a lime-kiln, followed by a chimney of stone and lime in the King's wardrobe. After the King's marriage Engelard de Cygony was commanded "to let John, the clerk of the work of the King's Queen's lodging have two hundred quarters of the lime which is in the Castle of Windsor to construct the lodging aforesaid."

Later it was found that the Castle lime-kiln was not large enough to cope with Henry's incessant demands for more and more building work, so another lime-kiln was erected in the forest,

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after which John FitzAndrew had to be given twenty-nine oaks in Windsor Forest for the lime-kiln, and for the making of a fence and paling for enclosing the King's garden. Then the King decided that the existing lodgings at the Castle were not large enough, so a new writ was issued whereby: "We command you that in the Castle of Windsor you cause to be made a certain lodging for our use near the wall of the same Castle, 60 feet long and 28 feet wide, and another lodging for the use of our Queen, 40 feet long, which is to be joined to our lodging and be under the same roof along the same wall, and a certain chapel, 70 feet long and 28 feet wide, along the same wall. So that a certain sufficient space be left between the aforesaid lodgings and the chapel itself to make a certain grassplat"—all of which was, doubtless, comprehensible to the clerk in charge of the work.

Amid all these writs for payments for this and payments for that are two very human entries—or, of one, should we say, *inhuman*? Both are typical of the King and the times, of the easy blend of piety and callousness. Says the first: "*Contrabreve* to cause the king's great hall and also his small hall in the castle of Windsor to be filled with poor folk on Easter day, and to cause them to be fed." How different the second! "*Contrabreve* to cause nine heads of certain malefactors together with two prisoners that were sent to the king at Windsor to be carried to London without delay."

On the 21st of December, 1240, the King ordered "a penthouse without delay between the king's hall and kitchen within the castle bailey, the cost to be credited by the view and testimony of lawful men." It is a trifle difficult to appreciate that the testimony of lawful men should be sufficient to pay the cost of erecting a penthouse, but if so then this is a mediæval custom which should commend itself to modern debtors—though not, perhaps, to the creditors.

A few months later another curious document was published. "Concerning many things in the Castle of Windsor. The King to his beloved and faithful Engelard de Cygony greeting. We command you that since it was ordained by our beloved uncle Peter of Savoy by the advice of Hugh Giffard as well as yourself that no horse be left within the walls of our Castle of Windsor until at least the months of August and September next has passed, and that you take it not ill that in the meantime your horses be amoved. Adhering to their and your advice we will

and order it to be done because we shall be in every way content that within the aforesaid Castle you should take them out as soon as the rainy weather comes. We will also that as you have arranged between you, your kitchen be amoved and rebuilt in the place appointed." What should cause the King to order the removal of every horse from the Castle? And why should Engelard be asked to move his kitchen to some other place? Fear of fever is the probable answer.

The *Liberate* Rolls continue to afford intimate glimpses of Castle life. A few months after Engelard has been ordered to have all horses taken out of the Castle, the keepers of the works were commanded to repair the chamber of the King's almonry, which had fallen down with the wall of the Castle. Evidently jerry-building was not unknown even in the days of Henry II.

In 1242 the Constable had to repair the caves of the Castle, to make a horse-mill, and four hand-mills there. The bailiff of Windsor had to pay out £7 5s. to the good men of Windsor in recompense for losses sustained by pulling down their houses on account of the castle ditch which the King has had made. How many houses were pulled down for the amount of £7 5s. is, unfortunately, not stated.

A writ published this same year gives us some idea of the military defences of the Castle, for payments are made to four knights, each of whom receives the munificent sum of 2s. per day, to eleven soldiers, of 9d. per day, to seven watchmen of 2d. per day, to a carpenter, an engineer, and some cross-bowmen, of 6d. per day.

Two years later we find the King paying attention to the state of the Castle's live provender, for the Sheriff of Berkshire received a writ to go to the Earl of Derby's bailiff "to receive from him the live rabbits which the earl is going to give to the king, and carry them to Windsor . . . to place in the king's warren." That same year fifty live bream were sent from Marleberg to the King's park of Windsor "to stock his stew."

Another curious writ issued from Windsor, though not about Windsor, related to a white bear which was kept in the Tower of London, and used for the purpose of catching fish from the river for the King's table.

So much for the sticks and stones of the Castle. One could continue quoting from the Rolls for many more pages yet,

but it is time to return to personalities, in particular to the young boy-king. As boys did in those days he matured rapidly. Before many years of his reign had elapsed he was striving for absolute control of his kingdom unfettered by the restraint of regents and justiciars. This was soon to come about. Following the treaty with Louis of France, that grand old man, William Marshal, died, and Peter des Roches became Henry's guardian, while Hubert de Burgh remained justiciar.

During the ensuing years these two men battled for supremacy. It was a fight between an Englishman and a foreigner, and de Burgh won the first round. Unhappily he lost the second. Largely through Peter's intrigues de Burgh was disgraced. With the justiciar out of favour the foreigner had all his own way, and Henry grew to hate nearly all Englishmen, and to favour many foreigners, two emotions which were to remain with him all his life, to the detriment of the country over which he ruled. The consequences of seeing the country's wealth poured into the rapacious hands of successive foreigners can well be imagined. The barons grew restive, and eventually formed an alliance under the leadership of Marshal's son, Richard. This led to civil war; Richard fled to Wales—and, as we have seen, the carpenters were taken from their task of repairing and improving Windsor Castle to help fight Richard's allies, the Welsh.

To record the next few years is not to write of a glorious epoch in English history. It is a story of a series of bickering quarrels, and petty warfare between the King and his subjects. Henry was a Royal spendthrift. Firmly convinced that England was a wealthy country he saw no reason why the greater part of that wealth should not be his. Heedless of the restrictions which, in preceding reigns, had been placed on the King's power to extort money from his subjects, Henry continued to spend money with a prodigality which suggested that his coffers were bottomless. Windsor Castle is an example of his reckless extravagance. It was of no consequence to him that he had not, and was not likely to obtain, the money to carry out the work commanded, writ followed writ—the Queen's chamber to be painted, a new chamber to be build for Edward, the King's son, with iron bars in the window, a new chapel and four gilt images, a bell-tower to hold three or four bells, pictures, a cistern to collect rain-water, glass windows, coloured wainscots, gardens,

plantations, more pictures, new kitchens, a salting-house, a fountain in the garden, a mill, a well—the list is interminable.

When it came to paying the bills for these improvements King Henry could not do so; his barons would not do so. To raise money the King sold grants, privileges, honours, imprisoned Jews, demanded gifts, sold plate and jewels, and used the excuse of a war with France for extorting money; later, he pretended that he was about to turn Crusader. Everything he could do to raise money he did. On one occasion he issued an order to John Mansell commanding him to pawn a most valuable image of the Virgin Mary, "but under especial condition that this hallowed pledge be deposited in a decent place."

By these various means Henry succeeded in raising money, but quicker than it dribbled into the Royal exchequer it flowed out. His creditors clamoured for money, but they were not paid, or if they were—as we have seen—only in small instalments. Those engaged on the Castle works who were not paid continued to voice their demands; to silence them Henry cast them into the cells of the towers which the unfortunate men had helped to build. Possibly as a result of this warning his personal servants took to highway robbery to fill their empty pockets.

Meanwhile, one of England's greatest men of all time was slowly amassing the power with which he hoped to bring his lofty ambitions to a happy fulfilment. This man was Henry's brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and it is a reproach to the Englishmen of those days that this man, who was ultimately to secure for Englishmen a greater liberty than had yet been known in world history, was himself not an Englishman but a Frenchman who had grown to love England more than his own country. De Montfort became the leader of the barons, who, nevertheless, looked upon him with suspicion, for was he not, like those against whom they conspired, a foreigner? The Frenchman suffered defeat of his plans again and again, but each time that he left England with the resolve never to meddle again with English political issues, circumstances forced him to return, and to struggle anew for the men who did not hesitate to desert him. "I have been in many lands," he said, "and nowhere have I found men so faithless as in England. But even though all forsake me, I and my sons will stand by the just cause." The truth was that the majority of the barons were self-seekers,

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ready to kiss the hand of the master who was most generous to them. Yet though the barons might blow hot and cold, Simon had the backing of the people of the cities.

In 1261 it was apparent that the clouds of civil war were once more looming over the country. On the 14th of June Henry exhibited papal bulls absolving him and others from their oaths. He retired to the Tower of London, and ordered the surrender of castles. In the meantime Simon de Montfort summoned three knights from every county south of the Trent to meet in Parliament at St. Albans. Upon hearing of this Henry wrote to the sheriffs, countermanding de Montfort's orders and commanding the knights to attend Windsor instead, that they might be present at his intended conference with the barons, and to treat of the common concern of the kingdom. At this determined front the knights and the barons proceeded to Windsor, but like certain other Parliaments which have met since that time it is reported that it was ineffectual, though it probably averted civil war for the time being.

Realizing that sooner or later a fresh crisis was inevitable, Henry set about fortifying his castles. For this purpose Prince Edward (or more correctly the Lord Edward, for the title prince was not then known or used) forcibly carried away one thousand marks from the Temple which, together with the Queen's jewels, he conveyed to Windsor. Using this money Edward proceeded to garrison the Castle with a hundred knights or so, and a greater number of soldiers. These foreigners apparently strengthened and fortified the Castle, but at the expense, it seems, of the neighbouring country-side, for the mercenary troops plundered it unmercifully.

The King and Queen were in the Tower of London, and since the commoners of London were staunchly for de Montfort, it was decided that the Queen should try to reach Windsor by water. She stepped into a craft of some sort, and the boatmen started to row upstream. The boat reached no farther than London Bridge; there the citizens of London hurled stones and muck at the Queen while yelling insults at her, and the poor woman was only rescued by the intervention of the mayor.

Simon approached London with an army. Cowered by the sight of his enemies, Henry agreed to make peace with the barons. A temporary agreement was reached, one of the terms being that all Royal castles should be entrusted to the

barons, and all foreigners in them, banished. Henry might agree to this condition, but not Edward. Edward refused to abandon the Castle which he had manned and fortified so strongly. Instead, he fled to Bristol, there to receive such short shrift that he was compelled to accept an enemy escort back to London. As this escort reached the neighbourhood of Windsor, Edward left its protection (or more probably escaped) and re-entered the Castle. When this news reached the barons they set off for Windsor to compel Edward to obey the conditions of his father's treaty. "Then," says Matthew of Westminster, "Edward, departing from the castle as if for the purpose of treating about peace, met his father and the barons about half-way between Windsor and London, and when, after the discussion was over, he was preparing to return, he was detained by the cunning of the Earl of Leicester and the Bishop of Worcester, who suspected sinister designs on his part; and so he was prevented from re-entering the castle. And so that noble castle was surrendered to the king and the barons."

The treaty served to postpone the evil hour by a very short while. The dispute between Henry and the barons was submitted to the King of France for arbitration, he promptly, and not unexpectedly, declared for King Henry. The barons were infuriated, and civil war broke out in earnest.

Surprisingly, Edward—who for cunning had no match, even in de Montfort—succeeded in regaining possession of Windsor Castle. As soon as Henry heard of this he left London and joined his son at the Castle. Then to the Castle came all the King's supporters and adherents until a vast force was camped in and around the Castle. Simon de Montfort's supporters, on the other hand, proceeded to London. Soon two armies were assembled, one at Windsor, the other at London.

This story has already afforded instances of the strange manner in which two rival armies in England would avoid each other as long as they possibly could, the while they marched up and down the country-side bravely fighting poor villagers who were far too terrified to defend their property. Once more this curious procedure was followed. Windsor and London are not so far apart that the armies could have lost touch with each other, yet the King's army proceeded northward to Northampton, where a castle held for de Montfort by his son was besieged, and later the baronial army marched south to try and capture

Rochester Castle. The Royalist campaign was successful. Northampton Castle surrendered, and the Royal army took as prisoner de Montfort's son, Simon. They also captured a brother, Peter, and his two sons, Peter and Robert, all of the de Montfort family. These important prisoners were sent as captives to Windsor Castle.

After this success the Royal army marched south to relieve Rochester, only to find that de Montfort had raised the siege. By this time de Montfort had reached a decision to gamble the cause of the barons on one pitched battle. The two armies ultimately met at Lewes, and de Montfort won an overwhelming victory. Henry became the Earl's prisoner.

The day after the battle the following was issued: "Mandate to the knights and others in the Castle of Windsor, as peace has been made between the King and his barons, oaths taken on both sides, and all things are settled in peace, not to go out of the said Castle to do any ill in those parts, or permit any to be done, upon peril of all the lands they hold in the realm."

Two days later: "Mandate to Drew de Barentino (Hugh de Barantin) of the Castle of Windsor to deliver Simon de Monte Forti, son of the Earl of Leicester, and Peter de Monte Forti, the elder, who were lately taken at Northampton and committed to his keeping by Edward the King's son; as by the form of the peace between the King and his barons they, with Peter and Robert, sons of the said Peter de Monte Forti, who were also taken at Northampton, are to be delivered."

Simon was now in the position of dictator. The King was his prisoner, and although the Earl treated his Royal prisoner with every outward appearance of respect, without consulting Henry he used the King's seal for any order which he, the Earl, chose to publish. A month later he summoned Hugh de Barantin, and other knights in care of the Castle, to attend the King for the purpose of discussing certain weighty matters. Two days after that de Montfort, by the following letters patent, summarily commanded Eleanor, Prince Edward's wife, to leave the Castle: "To Eleanor, consort of Edward the King's son. As the King wishes that she shall retire by all means from the Castle of Windsor where she now is, he commands her to go out with her daughter, John de Weston, her steward, William Charles, her knight, her ladies, donzels and the rest of her household, harness and goods, and to come to Westminster to

stay there, until the King shall make further order; and not to fail as the King undertakes to excuse her to E. her lord and will keep her harmless, and receives them into his safe conduct.

"Also Joan, consort of William de Valencia the King's brother, has been commanded to leave the said Castle with her household, harness and goods, and go to some convenient religious or other place near those parts, until God delivers her of the offspring wherewith she is great; and the King has received them into his safe conduct.

"And Matthias Bezilles has been commanded to retire from the said Castle and come to the King."

Simon's power did not last long, but in that short time he created an innovation in Parliaments for which democratic and liberty-loving Britons must forever feel grateful. When summoning Parliament he called not only the barons, the clergy, two knights from each county, but also two representatives from each of the chief cities and boroughs. The foundation of the future House of Commons had been laid. This move was a popular one as far as the people were concerned, but de Montfort lost the support of the barons, who realized that their power and authority were being challenged. The dismayed and alarmed barons transferred their support to the King, and when Edward succeeded in escaping from de Montfort's custody, a renewal of the civil war was unavoidable. The battle of Evesham was fought, when de Montfort's forces were defeated, and the Earl himself, "fighting bravely like a giant," was killed.

With the Earl of Leicester dead Henry was, for a time, master of his kingdom. He held a Parliament in Winchester after which "the King came to Windsor with a great power, intending, as the fame then went, to destroy the city of London, for the great ire and displeasure he had unto it."

When they received knowledge of this unpleasant threat the Londoners hastened to try and avert the consequences which were likely to follow their rebellion. They sent letters of submission to the King, whereupon the King demanded that forty citizens should attend at Windsor to confirm this submission. For this purpose the King granted letters of safe conduct. About the middle of October the mayor and other prominent citizens of London proceeded to the Castle, "upon the morrow, being Sunday, by one of the clock, and there tarried till four of the same day; at which season the King, coming from

his disporte, entered the Castle without countenance or once casting his eyes upon the Londoners; and when the King and his people was entered the Castle, the Londoners would have followed, but they were warned to abide without. Then, in short time after, the King caused a proclamation to be made that no man of high or less degree to the Londoners should make any sayings of displeasure, or make to them any quarrel. And in the evening came unto them the aforesaid Sir Roger, and Sir Robert Waleys, knights, and brought them into the Castle, and said that the King's pleasure was not to speak with them that night; and after, the said knights delivered them unto the constable of the Castle, which closed them all in a large tower, where, that night, they had small cheer and worse lodging.

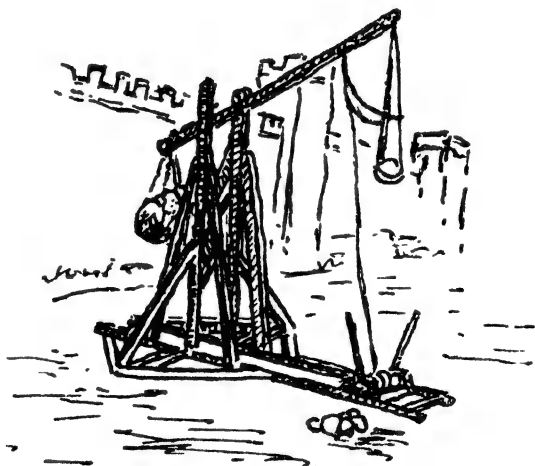
"Then upon the morrow, being Monday, towards night, they were taken out of that tower, and delivered unto the bailiff of the said Castle, and lodged by his assignment, except five persons; that is to mean, Thomas Fitz Thomas, then mayor, Mychiell Tony, Stephen Bukkerell, Thomas Pywellisdon, and John de Flete; the which five persons the King had given to his son, at whose commandment they remained still in the said tower long after, notwithstanding the King's safe conduct to them."

This dastardly treatment, unworthy of a knight, still more so of a king, caused a great outcry, particularly so as Thomas Fitz Thomas, the mayor, was very popular with the people. In consequence of efforts made to have the prisoners released, all were set free except the five already mentioned in Fabyan's report, and four others. These nine men remained prisoners in the Castle while the King demanded the sum of £40,000 for their release. When this was not forthcoming, he reduced the amount to 50,000 marks, but about Christmas-time he compounded and accepted 20,000 marks cash for the release of the four prisoners. The original five, who had been given to Prince Edward, remained as his prisoners at Windsor Castle for another four years when they were set free "for great sums of money."

Little more happened at the Castle during the remaining years of Henry III's reign which is of interest here, except perhaps the appointment to one of the Castle offices of Sir Adam de Gurdon. De Gurdon had sided with de Montfort and after de Montfort's death he had been disinherited. In common with many others he gathered together a band of malcontents,

and became an outlaw and bandit, ravaging Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hampshire. He became so dreaded a figure that at last Prince Edward led a small army against de Gurdon. The bandits were surprised in Alton Wood, and during the affray Prince Edward and de Gurdon fought in single combat. It must have been a homeric duel, for de Gurdon was noted as being one of the most athletic men of that period. Nevertheless Edward wounded and unhorsed his foe. Fortunately for de Gurdon his prowess so won the admiration of his conqueror that Edward forgave the outlaw all his past sins, restored his property, and finished up, as we have seen, by appointing him to a high office at Windsor Castle.

Shortly afterward King Henry III died, in the year 1272, and Edward ascended the throne, as Edward I.



A trebuchet.

CHAPTER VII

EDWARD THE LAW GIVER

IN marked contrast to the history of the Castle during the reign of Henry III, which lasted fifty-six years, is its continuation during the two next reigns, that of Edward I and Edward II. During Henry's reign, few years went by without something of interest happening at the Castle. But for the next fifty-five years there is surprisingly little to report. This fact is all the more strange when it is remembered that, as Prince, Edward caused considerable stir at the Castle upon several occasions. Furthermore, four of his children were born there. Despite these factors, Windsor led a very dull and prosaic life during his reign.

Edward, born at Westminster in June, 1239, was named after Edward the Confessor. His early childhood was spent under the care of Hugh Giffard, and in this connection several amusing writs were issued. Even at the age of two years old, Edward seems to have cost his father—and the country—a considerable sum of money. On the 8th of January, 1241, there was issued a writ: "To Hugh Giffard and Master Walter de Dya £50 for the expenses of Edward the King's son and the household dwelling with him at Windsor." Three weeks or so later: "To the keepers of the bishopric of Winchester. *Contrabreve* to cause Hugh Giffard and Master Walter de Dya to have £20 out of the issues of the bishopric for the expenses of Edward the King's son and the other children dwelling with him at Windsor." Five weeks later the bishopric of Winchester had to pay out another fifty marks for the same purpose. Two months after that it was the turn of the keepers of the honour of Laigle to contribute "£30 out of the issues of the honour" for the expenses of the King's son. Also, in May of 1242, there was issued a *contrabreve* to one, Avice de Columbaris, "to receive Roger de Stopham the King's huntsman, whom he is sending to take fifteen bucks

in his bailiwick for Edward the King's son, to find salt for salting the venison, and to carry it to Windsor." In the same month the keepers of the works at Windsor were commanded to build "a chamber for the children with a fireplace by the chapel, and another chamber for them of two storeys with two fireplaces; in the lower part of the Castle, below the hall, a smithy, and a pent-house for storing towels." As Edward grows up, so he becomes more expensive. In 1245 *liberates* for Edward's expenses amounted to £200—a large sum of money in those days.

When he was about twelve years of age Edward appears to have had a narrow escape from being killed during a severe thunderstorm which swept the country, an account of which has been placed on record by Matthew Paris. "During this same year, namely in summer, on St. Dunstan's day a darkness sprung up very early in the morning, and all the world, as it seemed, both in the east and in the west, and in the south and the north, became black, and thunder was heard as if a long way off with flashes going before. And about the first hour, the thunder coming nearer, with the lightnings, one stroke more dreadful than the rest, and as if the heaven were hurling itself upon the earth, transformed with fear the ears and hearts of those hearing it with its sudden crash. Whereupon it fell with that stroke upon the bed-chamber of the Queen, where she was then abiding with the children and her household, crumbled the chimney to powder, cast it to the ground, and shook the whole house. And in the adjoining forest, namely of Windsor, it overthrew, or cleaving them tore asunder, forty-five oak trees. It destroyed besides certain mills with their millers, and certain sheepcotes with their shepherds, with some plowers and wayfarers. And many damages that we who are describing these things have not heard of or seen inflicted on mortals."

As Edward grew to manhood he did not endear himself to the hearts of the people, although Londoners, always lovers of pageantry, gave an enthusiastic welcome to him and his bride when he returned to England after marrying Eleanor of Castile. Unfortunately the Lord Edward, like his father, was much too fond of the company of foreigners, and when he set an example to them in wanton cruelty they did not hesitate to indulge in acts of lawlessness and oppression. The poor English people began to dread the day when he would become king.

His later history has already been indicated. He hated Simon

de Montfort, but he so dissembled his real emotions that, until he exposed himself in his true light, he deceived even de Montfort. While he was the Earl's prisoner he escaped by a stratagem so ridiculously simple that it speaks volumes for the mentality of his jailers. Cunning, headstrong, cruel—there was nothing in the character of the Lord Edward to indicate that he was to become the "English Justinian"—Edward the Law-Giver!

At the time of Henry's death Edward was in Sicily on his way home from a Crusade, but hearing that England was at peace he wisely did not hurry home but proceeded slowly across Europe, the while he indulged in a series of chivalrous escapades. He arrived in England nearly a year later.

Once King, one of his first acts was to improve the Royal property which surrounded the Castle. Enclosures which had been let during the previous reign he reclaimed for the Crown, and these spaces were cultivated, as well as was all waste land. All lands on lease he ordered to be surveyed, and those who had taken in too much had to return the purloined surplus. Old dead trees were felled, and the forest tidied up generally.

Perhaps the most important event that was to happen in the history of the town of Windsor occurred in the fifth year of Edward's reign. In the year 1276 the King created Windsor a free borough. The document incorporating this charter, though a long and interesting one, scarcely merits insertion here. What is of more interest to this work is the tournament which Edward held at Windsor in that year.

It is strange that, as far as the records of the chroniclers reveal, this is the first tournament to be held at Windsor. Yet tournaments had been known in England for nearly two hundred years, and during the reign of Henry II had become so popular that the King had found it necessary to forbid them, as gathering too many barons and knights in arms. Richard I had, however, relaxed that order by permitting licensed tournaments, while Edward I, before ascending the Throne, had led eighty knights to a Continental tournament. In these circumstances it seems extraordinary that no king before Edward appears to have thought of holding a tournament at Windsor, a castle ideally suited for such chivalrous exercises.

This first tournament to be held at Windsor was, it seems, a very important and picturesque gathering. A host of knights attended, many of whom were of high rank, and already famous

for their success at jousting. Some of them had been fellow-Crusaders of the King, while several of them were related to him. The Rolls reveal that accoutrements were provided for thirty-eight knights, and consisted of articles purchased in England and Paris, such as armour of leather gilt, made up of tunic, surcoat, ailettes, crest, shield, helmet and swathed sword. Shields were of wood. Swords had pure gold hilts, and gilded pommels. Helmets were similarly gilded for the knights of high rank—those of lesser rank had to be content with silvered helmets. "Milo the currier" supplied thirty-eight pieces of leather resembling horses' heads, and thirty-eight pairs of little wings of leather. Richard Paternoster furnished, among other articles, eight hundred little bells, and twelve dozen silken cords for tying on the ailettes. Seventy-six calf skins were provided for making crests.

Other articles supplied for this tourney were: furs from Paris costing more than £600 "of Paris money," eight saddles richly embroidered with gold and silver, and emblazoned with the arms of England, and "two for the King's mule," six pairs of buckskin gloves for the King, two ivory combs, also for the King, four green and three red carpets, for the King's chamber, and a velvet covering for the head of the King's bed.

No further information of the tourney itself is available, which is a pity, for this gathering of the King and his Court, attended by so many high nobles and gallant knights, must have presented a colourful spectacle of chivalry.

Until 1283, when Edward's eldest son Alphonso died at Windsor, nothing of further note happened at the Castle. That Alphonso died at Windsor is added confirmation of the fact that, though Edward and his wife might have stayed at the Castle but a short part of their married life, this was not so where their children were concerned. The children must have spent a great proportion of their early lives there, and apparently were large wine-drinkers for, in 1277, a payment was made to Elias de la Nande for wine "sent to Windsor to the use of the King's children there," at which time the eldest living child was only eleven years of age.

There is evidence that during Edward's reign the Castle was used more and more as a prison. For instance, a pardon was issued "to Matilda, wife of Walter Levyng of Buriton, in prison

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at Windsor for the death of John and Alice, her children, as it appears by the record of Salomon de Roff and his fellows, justices in eyre in the county of Berks, that she killed them when in a state of fever and madness." And again: "Commission to deliver Windsor gaol of John de Luton and Thomas his brother, who were put in exigent after the eyre in the county of Berks for robberies and larcenies, and have since surrendered." In 1297 a number of men were imprisoned in the Castle "for breaking into the King's chapel," and in 1308 Thomas Burnel was confined there for the very enterprising offence of "counterfeiting the seal of Henry III, deceitfully occupying in that king's and the present King's time the office of overseer of the works of Windsor Castle by virtue of letters patent sealed with the counterfeit seal, and receiving by the hands of the Constable of the Castle 2d. a day for wages from the date thereof."

For the most part, though, nothing of vast importance occurred to the Castle previous to the death of Alphonso. Perhaps this is explained by Edward's continued absence from England. During these years Edward had to subdue two Welsh risings which resulted in the death of the ringleaders, Llewellyn, the Prince of Wales, in battle, and his brother David, by execution. This latter unfortunate patriot, incidentally, was sentenced to be drawn, hanged, beheaded, disembowelled and quartered, the quintessence of cruelty hitherto unknown in this country. Not long afterward Edward annexed Wales to England.

During the next few years Edward led a quieter life, holding parliaments and making laws. He visited Windsor Castle on several occasions, but nothing of note appears to have happened. Yet a glimpse of Court life which shows that Edward occasionally relaxed from kingly decorum is supplied by the anecdote which relates that, one Easter, the chair on which he was seated was lifted into the air by four frolicsome young ladies who refused to lower him again until he had paid ransom at the rate of forty shillings to each maid.

In February, 1295, Stow reports: "There suddenly arose such a fire in the Castle of Windsor, that many offices of the same house were therewith consumed, and many goodly images made to beautify the building, were defaced and deformed." It does not appear from the Rolls that much repair was done to this damaged building, and its ruins were apparently not cleared away until fifty years later, when Edward III was king. Yet such



From Pyne's Royal Residences

Ancient Staircase in the Round Tower



A distant view of the Castle, shewing the growth of the surrounding town

entries as do relate to the fire are interesting. For renewing three vervels with nails, and putting up "a new ring for the door of the King's little garderobe after the fire," cost the sum of sixpence, and later, small repairs to a certain door in the oriel before the "burnt great chamber," cost three-halfpence, and a new lock for the same door, fourpence. More curious are the two following: "In wages of twentyfour men carrying water to put out fire for a night in the King's great chamber which was burnt, two shillings," and: "Also in wages of twentyfour men removing burnt timber and carrying water to put out the fire for a whole day following, two shillings, because they feasted with the King's son." The reference to the feast with the King's son is somewhat puzzling. Did the King's son feast with the men as a gesture of thanks for their assistance, or did they receive only two shillings for a full day's work, because it was considered they had already been part-paid by having had the honour of feasting with the King's son?

Considering the amount of money spent by the last King in enlarging, improving, and beautifying the Castle, considering also King Edward I's claim to be a famous builder of castles—for instance, Flint, Rhuddlan, Conway, Harlech, and other Welsh castles—one might well imagine that the King would have planned to improve Windsor, but there is no evidence that any part of the present Castle was built by him. This assumption is further proved by the absence from the Rolls of entries relating to any building. Only minor repairs were carried out, and he did not even rebuild the great chamber partially destroyed by fire. The reason for this may be attributable either to his father's having left the Castle in a perfect state of repair—though, surely, were this the only reason Edward would have rebuilt the great chamber?—or to the fact that his building proclivities were fully engaged elsewhere (as they were) or, more likely, to his lack of funds. All the money Edward could scrape together he spent on building castles to keep the Welsh in check, or in warring against the Scots. Then again, once king, he spent very little time at Windsor.

So, as far as this reign is concerned, there is little more to add. From 1296 to 1306 when Edward died, the King was concerned only with a succession of invasions into Scotland, and with the passing of further wise statutes. In 1307 Edward died at Burgh-on-Sands, while on the way once more to invade

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Scotland, and his fourth and only surviving son, Edward, ascended the Throne as Edward II.

The new King, as has already been seen, spent most of his youth at Windsor Castle. He was also there a great deal during the first ten years of his reign, so that a brief review of this unfortunate man's life would not come amiss. School history books, so rash in dividing kings of England into one of two classes, "good" and "bad," definitely put Edward II among the naughty boys of the Royal class. As in the case of the other "bad" kings, modern opinion tends to minimize Edward's shortcomings by, so to speak, psycho-analysing him, and asking, how could any son with a father like Edward I, expect to grow up a normal, decent human king? Possibly there are good reasons for approaching the matter of a person's character in the light of his early upbringing, for the evil consequences of "repression" are now generally accepted. Even so, though few men could have hoped to shine in comparison with Edward the Law Maker, Edward, the Hammer of the Scots, it is hard to find excuses for the poor, weak, misguided creature that was Edward II.

Even as a youth Edward II began to betray dissolute habits and tendencies. Though his father's desire was that his sons should be brought up as a reflection of himself, a courageous warrior, and a doughty man, Edward II proved a bad scholar. Yet physically he grew up not unlike his father, being tall, and handsome, and possessing extraordinary strength. Unfortunately, far from growing up a courageous warrior, he was markedly a craven in battle.

Before he was ten years of age he had a separate, and magnificent, household of his own, but their qualifications to train a youth seem dubious. For the townspeople of Dunstable had cause to complain bitterly of their sufferings from the rapacity and violence of his attendants. Nor was this the worst to be said of Edward's suite. They were a bad influence upon a weak character, which craved support. As Edward grew older he became an habitual deep drinker, and a gambler, while his chief ambition in life was to spend his waking hours in riotous living. Furthermore, his inclination for companionship was not for his equals, but for men of common birth and vulgar tastes. Naturally Edward I was not blind to his son's unwholesome disposition,

and, upon one occasion, when the behaviour of the Lord Edward became too lawless, Edward I was compelled to confine his son for several months to the Castle boundaries, possibly in the hope of correcting the inclination for low companionship.

Piers Gaveston was Edward's favourite. Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight who had earned the gratitude of Edward I. The boy had been brought up as a foster-brother and play-fellow of Edward, and during these years he gained an unwholesome influence over the Lord Edward which he was never to lose. Strangely enough, Gaveston's own character was not particularly vicious; his chief fault lay in his ambitions, to satisfy which he carried his Royal companion along dangerous paths. Alarmed by Gaveston's influence, Edward I banished him in the February of 1307. In July Edward I died. Within a few days Edward II ordered Gaveston's return to England, and in August, as soon as the great seal was in his possession, the King made Gaveston Earl of Cornwall, an earldom which Edward I had expressly retained for one of Edward II's step-brothers.

At this signal mark of favouritism so early in the new reign the barons began to murmur, and when Walter Langton, the Treasurer, refused a grant of money for the new King and his favourite, Edward dispossessed Langton of his position and property, and lodged Langton as a prisoner in one of the cells at Windsor Castle. Here Langton remained for several months. Afterwards Langton was transferred to the Tower, and there he is said to have remained until his death. Stow, however, records that Edward "kept his Christmas of the following year (1309-10) at Windsor, where Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, and the Bishop of Saint Andrew's, Scotland, were released out of prison."

Before this happened Edward had married Isabella of France, and the King's infatuation for Gaveston had nearly caused the cessation of all Coronation festivities. The murmurs against Gaveston grew louder, and on the 28th of April, 1308, the great council met and "sharply warned Edward that homage was due rather to the Crown than to the King's person"—a significant warning in the light of certain recent events. In view of this antagonism to the favourite Edward was compelled to order Gaveston's banishment. That Christmas Edward and Isabella spent "with great solemnity" at Windsor Castle.

Edward's reign continued as badly as it had begun. Gaveston came back from exile, only to cause fresh trouble, and be re-exiled. Notwithstanding these reverses, when Edward spent the Christmas of 1311 at Windsor Castle, the favourite openly visited there, and when Edward went north, early in the new year, he was accompanied by Gaveston. Eventually the disagreement between Edward and his barons led to civil war, in which the malcontents were led by the King's cousin, the Earl of Lancaster. In May Gaveston surrendered to the baronial forces on condition he should remain unharmed until the 1st of August, but in spite of pledges, in June he was seized and murdered. This act of treachery caused some of the barons to break away from Lancaster, and for a time the King became strong enough to stave off further attacks.

In November, however, there occurred at Windsor Castle an event of national importance which was materially to assist in bringing about a peaceful settlement between the King and the barons. On the 22nd of this month, realizing that she was so soon to become a mother, the eighteen-years-old Queen spent several hours at prayer in the Castle chapel of St. Edward. The day following she bore her child "at forty minutes after five in the morning of the said day, the six degree of the sign Scorpio ascending, and the eighteen degree of Leo culminating." Immediately after this event the Queen sent a messenger from Windsor to London to acquaint the citizens with the welcome news, "Because we believe that you will hail this news with joy, we send you word that our Lord, by His grace, hath given us a son." The people did indeed hail the news with joy, especially when they were informed that the new prince was to receive the name of the Saxon saint. Meanwhile the same news was conveyed to the King by John Launge, the Queen's valet, whereupon Edward's pleasure was so great that, a short time later, he granted to John, and to Isabel, John's wife, an annuity of twenty pounds during their lives, and the life of the survivor, payable out of the farm of London—probably the easiest money man has ever earned!

Three days after his birth Prince Edward was christened in the chapel where his mother had prayed. A few weeks later the King proclaimed peace. This Christmas Edward likewise spent at the Castle.

Some months later Edward II founded a chantry in the

chapel of the Castle so that four chaplains and two clerks could pray for his soul and the souls of all his progenitors. About the same time the King not only directed the Chancellor to see that the chapel was supplied with ornaments and other things, but granted "to the 13 chaplains and four clerks of the King's chapel in his park of Windsor that on every occasion when he, or his consort the Queen of England, or his heirs shall be at his manor in the park, that they the said chaplains and clerks shall be admitted among the commoners at the table of the King's hall, or at that of his Consort or heirs, or shall have competent livery of food and drink, and also that they and their successors shall receive and have all oblations which shall happen to be brought to that chapel or to be offered in it."

In 1315 the King received a curious petition from the people of Berkshire which Tighe and Davis have translated from the original Norman French.

"To our lord the King and his council—The inhabitants of the county of Berks pray that, in order to maintain the peace of our lord the King, and to protect his Crown and to increase his profit as ought to be, inquiry may be made of the damage to our lord the King and his people by reason that the common gaol of the county is at Wyndesore, of which damages some of the points follow.

"In the first place, the town of Wyndesore is at the most remote part of the county, to the great grievance of all those who ought to attend the common delivery, even from the extremity of the county; and the town is too small for providing victuals, by reason of which the inhabitants of the county avoid coming, except persons engaged to deliver the thieves; insomuch that the thieves derive great joy and encouragement in their evil doing. Another point is that the poor of the geldable of the county are unable to go to the general delivery, as is proper, with four men and the provost of the towns, on account of the distance of the place; for they have to prepare for eight days in going and returning, and sometimes more; and even, in consequence of these inconveniences, and to eschew these hardships and grievances, they avoid accusing the felons of crimes which is a further injury to the Crown. Another point is, the people fail to indict

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felons or to make quick pursuit, because the county should be at the charge of conveying the felons so far; and if, in passing through the county of Berks by places in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, the felons were rescued or escaped, the King would lose that escape, for the escape made in one county could not be presented in another; and these same things have happened before this time. Another point is, the commonalty of the town of Windsor is so weak that the gaol cannot be sustained by the alms of the town, whereby the prisoners die immediately, as well the innocent as the guilty, and those who have goods die before judgment is given, so that the King loses the goods and chattels of the felons, to the great damage of the Crown. Another point is, the said gaol is in a franchise within the Forest of Wyndesore, where the coroner has jurisdiction of the same franchise, and hears the confessions of approvers, which are neither taken nor sworn within the county, as ought to be, he being chosen by a franchise to serve the lord the King; contrary to the law of his Crown, by inquest of which any evil that has fallen may be found. Another point is, if any great felon be indicted in the county, and taken and sent to Windsor, he is released for money wherefore the good people of the county have feared to indict those on whom justice is not done in due manner. The said gaol used to be at Wallingford, in the custody of the sheriff, to the great profit of the King and his Crown. Whereof they pray, if it please him, that a remedy may be granted them."

At first the King refused to grant this request, but later he did so, and ultimately the county gaol was removed to Reading, where it still is. As far as this volume is concerned the change was a pity. Perhaps, otherwise, one might have had the opportunity of including extracts from *The Ballad of Windsor Castle*. What a jest Oscar Wilde's pen would have perpetrated in such circumstances!

The years passed while Edward II continued his unhappy reign, with he and Lancaster growling defiance at each other. Yet a series of reconciliations postponed civil warfare, thus giving Edward the opportunity of continuing a disastrous struggle with Scotland, which ended in a two years' truce in 1320. Lacking a mutual foe Edward and Lancaster resumed

their interrupted enmity, and Edward became infatuated with a new favourite, Hugh le Despenser, whom the barons later forced him to banish. In 1322 the long-expected war between the King and Lancaster broke out, with the result that the rebels were crushingly defeated, Lancaster was executed at Pontefract, and Lancaster's allies were sent as prisoners to the south of England. Among these might be mentioned two, Roger, Earl of Mortimer, who was sent to the Tower of London, and Sir Francis de Aldham, who was lodged at Windsor Castle. De Aldham was not long a prisoner, for he was sentenced to be hanged for felonies committed a year before while pursuing Hugh le Despenser, and thrown in for good measure he was further sentenced to be drawn and quartered for treason in the Lancaster rebellion.

Mortimer, imprisoned in a lofty and narrow chamber in the Tower, was not satisfied to remain there if there were any possibility of being freed. For this purpose he communicated with powerful friends without the Tower, and while still a prisoner plotted the seizure of several castles, Windsor and Wallingford among them. As far as Wallingford was concerned the plan proved successful, but evidently Windsor proved a different proposition, for nothing untoward happened there. It would have been better for Edward had he pardoned de Aldham, and instead have hanged, drawn and quartered Mortimer. Mortimer escaped from the Tower by having the guards drugged, and with the help of a friend, cut a hole in the wall of his cell, after which he escaped into the palace kitchen, gained one of the Castle wards, descended by means of a rope-ladder to an outer ward, and, having reached the Thames, was ferried across the river by two accomplices—an escape that was a masterpiece of planning. Despite vigorous attempts to recapture him, Mortimer succeeded in escaping to France, where he met Isabella, Edward II's wife, who eventually became his mistress, with dire consequences to Edward.

There is little more to record of Windsor during the reign of Edward II. Mortimer and his paramour began to plan the invasion of England. They were encouraged by the Lancaster faction, and their treasonable plotting was so far successful that the unfortunate King had to flee to Wales, where he was taken prisoner. Edward was deposed, and his son elected King. So the story of Windsor moves on to

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a new epoch, more glamorous, more gorgeous than any preceding it, while the poor deposed King, whose last days one can only pity, was, at the instigation of Mortimer and Isabella, murdered in a most foul and revolting manner which must for ever remain a blot in English history.



Ready for the joust.

CHAPTER VIII

EDWARD THE GLORIOUS

EDWARD III, as we have seen, was born at Windsor Castle, and subsequently christened in the chapel there, being given the name of Edward. Although this was a wise act on the part of his parents, the new-born child very nearly received an altogether different name, for "many of the French Nobility at the English Court, laboured earnestly, that this Princely Infant might be named after King Philip; but against this motion the English Nobility prevailed."

As his father before him the new King had also spent much of his youth at the Castle, but, unhappily, his sojourn there seems to be just as lacking in anecdotes; but, in January, 1327, he became King, at the age of fourteen; and within a few months of his reign there was published a most interesting document which is of great interest to this work, being nothing less than a survey of the actual condition of the Castle. This document St. John Hope has reprinted in full, pointing out that the original is in bad condition, and difficult to decipher. It is St. John Hope's text that I venture to quote herewith:

"An Inquisition taken at New Windsor on Thursday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the first year of the reign of King Edward the Third from the Conquest, by Ambrose of New Burgh, clerk, appointed by the lord King to enquire and certify to the Treasurer and his Barons of his Exchequer concerning the state of his Castle of New Windsor, and the costs of the same Castle, according to the tenor of a brief directed to the same Ambrose by oath of William of the Chamber, John of Bedford, John le Wariner, William Paste, Robert of Pershore, Philip le Mareschal, Daniel Lirmongere, John le Mazoun, Nicholas of Felley, William le Muleward, Richard Ketel, and William Vigrans.

"These say on their oath that there are seven bridges in

the aforesaid Castle, of which four are draw-bridges and are very weak and much need to be mended, both as to . . . stones as ironwork and woodwork, and they reckon the cost and mending, together with the dependencies above the great gate and the mending of two turrets on either side of the great gate of the Castle aforesaid, both of workmen and other jurors, £200.

"They say also that there are in the same place two towers between the great gate and the Clewer tower (which towers at some time were finished off with wooden tables), by divers storms they are rotten and prostrate, and it was ordained by the lord Edward lately King of England, father of the present King, that the two towers aforesaid should be raised above and finished off with stones from Bustlesham quarry in the form and likeness of the Clewer tower, and the cost and expense are reckoned at £200.

"Also they say that there is a certain tower beside the burnt lodging on the east part which much needs to be mended with freestone and in necessary joists, and it is capable of being repaired with work by reckoning 50s.

"Also they say that the glass windows of the great chapel are much broken and rent by strong winds and divers other storms, and much need to be mended as to iron and glass, for a sum of £200. And the great joists of the said chapel which are enclosed from above in the vault on each side of the said chapel are weak . . . rotten and much need to be mended and repaired, and it is worth by reckoning, with the repair of a certain cloister which is joined to the same (chapel), £70.

"Also they say that there is in the same place a certain tower in the upper bailey which is joined to the lodging of our lady the Queen, and much needs to be repaired with free stones from the quarry, and it is worth by reckoning with the working 100s. And there is a little turret in the same place behind our lady the Queen's kitchen which is much rent, and in many parts damaged from top to bottom, and especially in three places, and it must be mended quickly with quarry stone with fitting work, and other things belonging with working by reckoning, £20.

"Also they say that in the same place there are lacking three great hempen cables for three wells, and for cleaning the

said three wells by reckoning and mending of the wheels of the said wells, 20 marks.

"Also they say that the tablements of the alures in the compass of the walls of the said Castle, together with all the steps and the crests of the walls aforesaid, of stones of Caen or other stones, with fitting work with costs and workings by reckoning of the workmen and other jurors, £600.

"Also they say that for the mending of the glass windows in the same place of other chapels and lodgings in the upper bailey, and elsewhere in the Castle aforesaid, and for the wooden windows of the King's great hall in the lower bailey, and elsewhere in the same place where it may be necessary, the costs are worth by reckoning £40.

"Also they say that there is a certain tower in which is the lodging of the Queen's seneschal in the upper bailey, and in the same places are many defects through divers fractures and cracks in the stone wall, and through false gutters, and they must necessarily be mended quickly, and the work is worth in expenses 100s. And in another tower next to it are seven holes and cracks, some of which are through the middle of the stone wall, and those defects can be mended by reckoning for 40s.

"Also they say that the high stone wall of the aforesaid Castle towards the north, and towards the lodging which is called the lodging of the Lady de Vesci, is much in decay and almost . . . dangerously in many places through divers tempests and through divers latrines, and it can be mended for £15. And another high wall of the Castle beside the Roche tower is also lacking. So that the aforesaid wall has no foundation, and those defects can be mended by reckoning for 20 marks.

"Also they say that the Queen's great kitchen in the upper bailey, together with a larder on one part and a great bakehouse on the other in the same place, much . . . are weakened, especially on account of the failure of the timber and because they were not covered for a long time, so that in part they are in decay. And to remake anew the wooden . . . and the stone walls which enclose the aforesaid kitchen and the said larder and bakehouse by reckoning those defects can be mended. . . . Also another outer wall above the latrine of the lodging over the gate beside the high tower is much damaged and by

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divers tempests feebly . . . needs quickly to be repaired. And the repair of the same is worth 20s. And the gate beside the high tower is wasted and much rent . . . necessary (?) must be mended with two wooden beams, each beam of the length of 12 feet and a foot square. And with two (other beams?) of a foot square. It is worth by reckoning and with the repair of a chamber over the gate aforesaid, and can be mended by reckoning for . . . a certain (wall?) of squared stone is defective of squared ashlar beside the aforesaid gate and for mending it in stonework . . . 26s. 8d. . . . of that defect . . . and from the time when Geoffrey of Pitchford was Constable of the Castle aforesaid thus far but in . . . 7s. (?) what and how many damages by whose negligence, the defects of which or ignorance of which how and from whence the damages aforesaid . . . from the time of the said Geoffrey . . . great work of stone or wood, iron, and lead . . . caused to be rebuilt. But . . . in the castle aforesaid much stone is found by the providence of the said Constable, as in stones from the quarry, of timber, iron, tin, lead, tile, lime, sand . . . the aforesaid defects. Because the particulars aforesaid are manifest elsewhere by small parcels in a certain roll called . . ."

The survey was ultimately to cause sweeping changes at the Castle, but it was fifteen years later before work was begun. There were numerous reasons for this delay. For the first four years of his reign Edward was under the domination of Mortimer and Isabella. Seizing control of the kingdom, Mortimer governed with an autocracy only exceeded by modern dictators. With colossal arrogance he placed himself even before the King, and attended Parliament with an armed retinue, contrary to agreed statutes. On her part Isabella obtained so enormous a settlement that only a third of the Crown revenues remained to the Crown. It is little wonder that the Castle remained practically untouched during those years.

Besides having to contend with a rapacious mother and a grasping guardian, Edward found himself with the possibility of a Scottish war on his hands. This boy, a mere adolescent, marched north at the head of a mixed army of English and Flemish soldiers. Instead of marching to confront the enemy, on Trinity Sunday, they fought among themselves, the Flemish against the English, and on the day following, three hundred

and sixteen bodies were found in the streets of York, where the men were billeted. In the meantime a truce with Scotland had been arranged, but it was quickly broken, so Edward marched north again. His expedition was a disastrous failure, so he retired. Upon his return to England he married Philippa of Hainault; he was fifteen, and she younger.

It is probable that Edward and Philippa spent their first Christmastide at Windsor Castle, for Edward was there in the February of 1329 when two seigneurs and two lawyers arrived there from Philip of France, with a summons to Edward to do homage for Guienne and Ponthieu. Edward received the four men with due honour, and promised them that, if they would go to London, he would give them an answer there. The King then entertained them at dinner. Later that year he crossed to France and paid homage to the King of France.

In 1330 Philippa bore Edward a son, who has come to be known as the Black Prince. That same year Mortimer was made to suffer for his sins. In dealing so arrogantly with proud and haughty nobles it was only to be expected that he would ultimately over-reach himself. Edward conspired with his friends. Mortimer was seized, and was beheaded, whereupon Edward became king *de facto* as well as *de jure*.

At this time he was a handsome young man (though in these days he would still be considered a youth). Graceful, with a face "of a god," courtly and winning, loving manly sports and knightly exercises, and, particularly, warfare, he was "glorious among the great ones of the world." This partiality for war made him declare war on Scotland, using as an excuse, with some justification, that the Scots had broken the treaty. A battle was fought, resulting in a disastrous defeat for the Scots. Perhaps this gave Edward confidence, for, having previously made a claim to the French Throne, he started the so-called Hundred Years' War with France.

This is not the place to follow Edward through his numerous, glorious campaigns in France, in Scotland, and in Spain, during which English soldiery achieved many notable victories. It is Windsor Castle with which we are dealing, and so it is necessary to pass on to that period in the Castle's history when it reached heights of splendour and magnificence which have never since been equalled, only pausing to mention one or two amusing entries in the Rolls. In 1339, for instance, there was a "Release

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in fee to William Trussel, king's yeoman, of the rent of 20s. to the Castle of Windsor at which he holds the manor of Shotesbrok, and grant that he shall hold the same to him and his heirs for ever at the rent of a pair of gilt spurs at the Castle." This mention of a quit-rent is particularly interesting in that, several hundred years later, both the Marlborough and Wellington families were granted the properties of Blenheim and Strathfieldsaye respectively, to be "holden as of the Castle of Windsor in common socage by fealty," on the condition that their families renew annually at the Castle, on the anniversaries of Blenheim and Waterloo, banners commemorating the two victories.¹

This same year it appears that the chaplains who had been appointed to pray for the Royal souls had been lax in fulfilling their duties, for a commission was issued to "Nicholas de La Bêche and William de Munden, to make a visitation of the King's free chapel in Windsor Castle, as it is reported that the warden and chaplains maintained there by the King's alms for the celebration of divine service have often absented themselves for a long time from the chapel without licence, whereby the divine worship which should be held there for the good estate of the King and the souls of his progenitors, kings of England, is withdrawn, and that many of the ornaments of the chapel are missing."

Then in 1344 occurred the event which was to make Windsor Castle so prominent throughout this reign—the founding, by Edward, first of the Round Table, and later of the famous Order of the Garter. A great deal has been written about the Order and the period of its institution, and its association with the Round Table, even to the filling of an entire volume on the subject, yet it is impossible, in writing of the Castle, not to dwell awhile on both of these fantastically picturesque ceremonies.

Olden chroniclers have confused the two issues, but in fact, they are different. The Round Table was established first, when Edward conceived the fanciful notion of emulating the legendary principles of the legendary King Arthur, founder of British chivalry. For this purpose, on the 1st of January, 1343-4, the King issued letters patent of safe conduct, "since for the recreation and solace of men of war who delight in the exercise of arms, we have determined to hold tournaments and general jousts at our Castle of Windsor, on the Monday next after the feast of St. Hilary next ensuing: We, being desirous

¹ They are to be seen in the Guard Room.

of the safety of all and singular, of whatever country and nation they may be, who will to come hither for this cause at that time, have undertaken to provide that all and singular, both knights, gentlemen, and esquires, of whatever country and place they be, willing so to come, their servants and goods whatsoever, in coming thither, abiding there, and returning to their own affairs, be under our safe and secure conduct and our special protection and defence, etc."

Eleven days later further letters patent for the "protection and safe conduct until the octave of the Purification for all of whatsoever region and nation coming to the tournament appointed to be held at the Castle of Windsor on Monday after St. Hilary."

The joust was held at Windsor; several chroniclers have left colourful, but slightly conflicting accounts of the gathering—conflicting in that Froissart writes: "At this time there came into the mind and will of King Edward of England that he would cause to be made and re-erected the Great Castle of Windsor, which King Arthur had formerly made and founded there, where first was begun and established the noble Round Table, of which were so many good and valiant men and knights—and that they should be in number forty, and that they should be called the Knights of the Blue Garter, and that the feast should be kept from year to year, and should be solemnized at Windsor the day of Saint George." But Adam Murimuth says: "This year the lord King arranged to have a most noble joust or essay in the place of his birth . . . on the 19th of January and 14th Kalends February. . . ." In another account, by the same writer, the date of the festivities is given as lasting from the 8th to the 12th of February—this, notwithstanding Adam Murimuth's heading, "Concerning a solemnity . . . on the day of St. George the martyr."

Perhaps there may be confusion with regard to the precise dates when the joust was held, but with regard to its magnificence there are no two opinions. All the chroniclers testify to the fact, and of them all perhaps Adam's second account is the most descriptive; so much so, indeed, that it makes one unwilling to modernize its phraseology.

"In the year of Our Lord 1343, but in the second year of the pontificate of Pope Clement VI and in the seventeenth

of King Edward the Third from the Conquest, beginning always and ending always at the feast of St. Michael, from which feast until the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary there were not any things done worthy of much note or relation, but on the Sunday next after the feast of the Blessed Mary, at Windsor, the Lord King kept a very great solemnity and a great feast; to which he invited his first-born son the Prince of Wales, the earls, barons, and knights, and very many other nobles of his kingdom. There were also there the Lady Queen Philippa, with her children, the lady Queen-mother, the lady Isabella, countesses, baronesses, as so at feasts that were expensive and abounding in the most alluring of drink they were sustained to the satiety of everyone. Among the lords and ladies dances were not lacking embrace and kissings alternately commingling. Among the knights continued joustings were being practised for three days; the best melody is made by the minstrels, and divers joyous things; to these are given changes of raiment, to those offerings were abounding; these being enriched with plenty of gold and silver.

"This same solemnity lasted Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; on which day at night, after the end of the jousts, the Lord King caused to be proclaimed that no lord or lady presume to depart, but await until morning, to know the Lord King's pleasure. When the morning, that is the Thursday, came, about the first hour the King caused himself to be solemnly arrayed in Royal and festive vestures, and he had on uppermost a mantle of very precious velvet and the Royal Crown placed upon his head. The Queen was likewise most nobly adorned. The earls and barons, and the rest of the lords and ladies, with all the decency they could, according to the King's command, prepared themselves to go with him to the chapel in the Castle of Windsor and hear Mass. Which having been celebrated, the Lord King went out of the chapel, the lord Henry earl of Derby, as seneschal of England, and the lord William, earl of Salisbury, as marshal of England, going before him, each in virtue of his office carrying a staff in his hand, and the Lord King himself holding the Royal sceptre in his hand. There followed him the young Lady Queen, and the lady Queen-mother, the Prince of Wales, the earls, barons, knights and nobles, with the ladies and all the

people about to see so unwonted a spectacle to the place appointed for the assembly. In which place the same Lord King and all the others at the same time stood up, and having been offered the Book, the Lord King, after touching the Gospels, took a corporeal oath that he himself, at a certain time limited to this, whilst the means were possible to him, would begin a Round Table, in the same manner and condition as the lord Arthur, formerly King of England, appointed it, namely to the number of 300 knights, a number always increasing, and he would cherish it and maintain it according to his power.

"To observe, sustain, and promote which with all its appendages, the earls of Derby, Salisbury, Warwick, Arundel, Pembroke, and Suffolk, the other barons and very many knights, whom probity and renown put forward to be worthy of praise, made a like oath. Which being done, with trumpets and nakers sounding all together, the guests hastened to a feast; which feast was complete with richness of fare, variety of dishes, and overflowing abundance of drinks; the delight was unutterable, the comfort inestimable, the enjoyment without murmuring, the hilarity without care. The last things therefore corresponding to the first, the Royal feast was ended, so that on the fifth day each might return to his own affairs."

Having given his knightly and kingly word to establish a Round Table, Edward wasted no time in beginning his chivalrous task. Within a few days his commands went forth. One de Rameseye was appointed to buy all stone necessary for "certain works to be done in the Castle of Windsor," and was commanded to convey his purchases to the Castle with all speed. Brother John Waleraund was appointed to "arrest" on the River Thames, between Gravesend and Henley, as many punts as should be required for the carriage of necessities to the Castle. De Kymton was appointed to purvey stone in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire. William of Hurley, "our carpenter," was told to choose by himself, or his deputies, as many carpenters in the cities, towns and elsewhere in "our kingdom of England, both within their liberties and without, wherever they can be found," which men were to be taken to the Castle as speedily as possible, "there to remain at our wages on the aforesaid works."

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The Castle grounds became a scene of unprecedented activity. There began to arrive workmen of various trades, stonework quarried from a dozen different counties, trunks cut from as many forests. The lime-kilns became busy, sand was excavated from the pits. The number of cutting-masons steadily increased, and then laying-masons joined the other workmen. During the fourth week "shapelers" were taken on, and more smiths.

At this point one might pertinently ask, as does St. John Hope, whereabouts in the Castle grounds was erected this house of the Round Table, of "sixe hundred foote and three quarters"? A close examination of the possibilities and probabilities forces one to agree with this author that the building was situated in the courtyard of the upper ward.

Work on the Round Table continued, with some interruption, throughout that year, but the number of men employed became less and less, the chief cause of this was the inability of the exchequer to withstand the strain upon it, for the news from France made it clear that the money which was being used for building the Round Tower would be wanted for other, less peaceful purposes. On the 27th of November all work ceased—perhaps because of the approach of winter, perhaps because preparations for war with France were being speeded up. There are two strange aspects about this building of the Round Table. The first is, that there are no records to show that, building upon it having once ceased, it was ever renewed. The second is the view which the King of France took of Edward's device for reviving the glories of King Arthur's chivalry, for King Philip was convinced that Edward's appeal for a new chivalry would not be in vain. He foresaw, in fact, a rush of applicants not only from the knights of England, but from the knighthood of Christian Europe, with the resultant attraction to Edward's side of many valuable allies. To counter this, King Philip promptly set up his own Round Table in Paris.

Notwithstanding the apparent cessation of work on the building for the Round Table, in the following March a Feast of the Round Table was held at the Castle, and for this very special occasion the King ordered a ceremonious robe for himself, an idea of which can be gained from the following:

"For making one long and one short robe of six garniments of red velvet, for the lord the King, made, furred and purfled

against the feast of the Round Table held at Windsor this year. The supertunic, short, frounced, and buttoned, furred with ermines, 14s.; and in wages to eight furriers working for three days, and to two furriers working for one day, to each 6d. per diem, working with great haste upon the skins and furriery of the same robe, made for the same feast, by the King's command, 13s. . . ."

During this year and the beginning of the next Edward continued to prepare for an invasion of France, and in doing so practically ruined the town of Florence by failing to pay his debts to the big bankers there. In July of 1346 the King and his army crossed the Channel, and with thirty thousand men almost reached Paris. Then, alarmed by the size of the French army which was assembling, he struck northward, followed by Philip, who had an army of nearly one hundred thousand men. The battle of Crecy was fought, with terrible results to the French, who are said to have lost in dead as many men as comprised the entire British army. This victory was followed up by an eleven months' siege of Calais, when it was taken by the English. It remained an English possession until the time of Mary I.

Satisfied with his victories, Edward sailed for home. His ships were so laden with spoil that all England was enriched, and it was said every woman in England wore some ornament, or had in her house a piece of linen, or a goblet, or other booty, which had come from France as a result of the invasion. As for the King and his knights, such was their feeling of triumph and jubilation that for three months after the return of the conquerors, they gave themselves up to an orgy of extravagance and pleasure. Several tournaments were held, and in particular, one at Windsor, when, seemingly for the first time, the famous Garter was worn by several knights.

Edward's ideas on the Order of the Round Table seem to have undergone a radical change—perhaps he had heard that Philip had imitated him, and was determined not to suffer the indignity of having to share this conception of chivalry with the French King. Whatever his reason, sometime in the year 1348 Edward initiated the Order of the Garter. Many reasons have been advanced for his choice of this Order rather than any other and, also, for its famous motto, *Honi soit q' mal y pense*. There have

been many different versions, so that it is a little difficult to give precisely the source of the inspiration. Perhaps each version contains a modicum of truth. For instance, a contemporary translator of Polydore Virgil writes:

"The cause of the first institution of this Order is as yet in doubt. Among the ruder sort, the saying is as yet that the King, on a time, took up from the ground the garter of the Queen, or some paramour, which she before had lost; and divers of his lords standing by did pull it in sunder in jest, and strove for the pieces thereof, as men are wont sometimes for a jewel of small importance, insomuch that the King said unto them: 'Sirs, the time shall shortly come when ye shall attribute much honour unto such a garter'; whereupon he did institute this Order, and so intituled it, that his nobles might understand that they had cast themselves in their own judgment. This is the vulgar opinion; but the English Chronicles (being somewhat shamefaced and fearing lest they should debase the King's regal majesty if they should seem to make mind of any such obscure matter) rather thought good to leave it clean untouched, as though it had never first been seen, that a thing which sprang of a vile and small principle should arise to great increase and high dignity."

Another account is that during some festivities the lady (the Queen? The Countess of Salisbury? The Countess of Kent? A mistress of the King?) dropped a garter which the King picked up. As he did so he became aware of the sniggers of the surrounding courtiers and angrily observed: "Hony soyt qui mal y pense"—"Shame to him who thinks ill of it." With which the King gallantly placed the garter round his own knee, either to prevent further impertinence or because he was anxious to wear it as a favour.

The translation from the French also seems to have caused considerable controversy. Besides the translation already mentioned there is the popular one, "Evil be to him who evil thinks," but in his *Archæologia*, Sir Harris Nicholas derides this conception, maintaining with reason that the translation should read: "Be he disgraced who thinks ill of it."

Whatever the true explanation of the origin of the Order, King Edward "determined to make an order and a brotherhood of a certain number of knights, and to be called Knights of the

Blue Garter; and a feast to be kept yearly at Windsor on Saint George's day. And to begin this order, the King assembled together earls, lords and knights of his realm, and shewed them his intention, and they all joyously agreed to his pleasure, because they saw it was a thing most honourable, and whereby great amity and love should grow and increase. Then was there chosen out a certain number of the most valiant men of the realm, and they swore and sealed to maintain the ordinances, such as were devised, and the King made a Chapel in the Castle of Windsor, of Saint George, and established certain canons there to serve God, and endured them with fair rent. Then the King sent to publish this Feast, by his heralds, into France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and into the Empire of Germany."

That the original members of the Order numbered only twelve seems to be established by an item entered in the Rolls for "making twelve blue garters," embroidered with gold and silk, each one bearing the motto—*Hony soyt q' mal y pense*.

Such was the Order of the Garter in the year of its foundation, and it must surely have made of the already spectacular tournaments an even more brilliant pageant. The tournament at Windsor was probably held in the May of 1348, following the birth of a son to the King and Queen. This was William, who, unfortunately, died in infancy so that although a magnificent robe of blue velvet, worked with birds of gold encircled with pearls, was prepared for the Queen, and a large bed of green taffeta, embroidered with red roses, figures and *serpents* was made for the new-born child, it is doubtful whether either mother or child really enjoyed the celebrations.

Others who were at Windsor on that occasion were, notably, the Black Prince, who gave his mother a courser named "Banzan de Burgh," his brothers, Lionel, who received a special doublet of green and blue velvet, and John and Edmund, both of whom received a pair of plates. There was also present at the tournament the King of Scotland, David Bruce, who was presented with a harness of blue velvet decorated with a white rose within a pale of red velvet. David's presence at the joust is yet further testimony of the extraordinary mentality of that age, for he was lodged at the Castle not as an honoured guest, as one might expect, but as a prisoner of war, having been captured two years previously at the battle of Neville's Cross.

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It seems that when the actual institution of the Order of the Garter took place, at Windsor Castle on the 24th of June, although only twelve garters had been made, twenty-six knights were invested with the Order of the Garter. Following the investiture came the jousts, in which the flower of knighthood and the King took part. Edward, it is recorded, wore white buckram tinselled with silver and had emblazoned on his surcoat and shield a white swan, gorged, together with the motto:

Hay, hay, the white Swan!
By Godde's soul I am thy man!

At this particular joust the winner's crown was worn by another prisoner of war! This was Raoul d'Eu, Constable of France. Later, when d'Eu returned to France to negotiate his ransom, his ungrateful master, the King of France, lopped off the Constable's head for that feat of arms, so jealous was Philip of Edward's chivalry.

So much for the jousting which took place during the hours of daylight when gallant knight fought gallant knight for the honour of placing the winner's crown at the feet of some fair charmer. But later, when the sun had vanished, and the heavens sparkled with twinkling stars, the story is different. These chivalrous knights exercised their gallantry in a vastly different manner, and license became the order of the knight. Heated with battle, intoxicated with wine, surrounded by many ladies of loose life and bold manners, the warriors and courtiers gave themselves up to such orgies that the nation became scandalized.

So enthusiastic was the reception accorded to the newly-instituted Order of the Garter that Edward determined to make the Castle, already more of a Royal palace than a fortified castle, into a regal and fitting headquarters for the Order. For this purpose, on the 6th of August following, the King issued letters patent for the building and establishment of a college of twenty-four canons, including one warden, and twenty-four poor knights to be substituted for the eight chaplains previously attached to St. Edward's chapel.

When Edward gave commands he saw to it that they were promptly carried out, but in this instance the building of the new college was not begun until the spring of 1350, nearly two years later. The cause of this postponement is explained by the horrible mortality caused by the Black Death which ravaged

England in that time. So terrible was the death-roll that it has been estimated that the population of England and Wales was halved as a result of the plague or its consequences.

No country could easily recover from such a catastrophe; during the months when the plague was at its height the trade of the country almost came to a standstill. Cattle died, and the harvest rotted for want of reaping. When at last the pestilence was gone the people were faced with a new terror—famine. It was unlikely that any earlier beginning could have been made on Edward's ambitious schemes.

By April, 1350, however, the country had so far recovered that Edward issued letters patent addressed to sheriffs, mayors, etc., notifying them of the appointment of one Richard of Rothley as surveyor of works in the Castle, and that he had authority "to take and provide masons, carpenters, and other workmen who may be needed for our works aforesaid, wherever they can be found, within the liberties and outside the fee of the Church only excepted, and except the workmen already retained for our works at Westminster, our Tower of London, and Dartford; also to take and provide stone, timber and other necessities for the works aforesaid, and carriage for the same timber and stone and other premises; and to bring back those workmen who were retained for our works in the said Castle of Windsor and have withdrawn from the same works without our licence; and also to enquire by the oath of upright and lawful men of every county of our realm of England, through whom the truth of the matter can the better be known, if the timber or stone bought and provided for our works has in any wise been carried off or removed, and to cause the same timber and stone so removed, wherever it can be found to be brought back; and to buy and provide all things needful for our works aforesaid; and to sell the boughs and other residues of the trees provided for our works for our service and answer to us for the moneys arising therefrom; receiving for his own wages twelve pence a day while he abides there, and two shillings a day when he shall be intent upon our business elsewhere, and three shillings a week for the wages of his clerk." Such was the beginning of the very considerable alterations which were entirely to alter the aspect of the Castle as it then was.

CHAPTER IX

EDWARD THE GLORIOUS (*continued*)

AT this point, in dealing with the new buildings, it makes for easier reading to disregard strict chronological order, and to describe briefly the buildings as they were by the time they were completed. Some idea of the state of the Castle about this period may be had from the inquisition previously quoted, which reveals that the general condition of the Castle buildings was bad. Time and weather had treated the place sadly; masonry had crumbled, ironwork had rusted, woodwork had rotted. Part of one building, partially destroyed by fire, had remained in a state of dilapidation. Windows broken by high winds had been left unmended. Turrets were tumbling because of weakened supports. The building to house the Round Table, begun in such a hurry, was presumably still unfinished. Indeed, the Castle as a whole was in such a state of decay that it is with difficulty that one associates with it the several gorgeous pageants already held there. Especially should it be remembered that the upper ward was comparatively unbuilt.

In speaking of the upper ward, if the chroniclers are to be believed, two foreign kings were responsible for its erection: David, King of the Scots, and John, the French King—that model of chivalry. One day, at a time when considerable work had already been done on the lower ward, Edward was riding with his two captives, whom he rightly treated with such courtesy and so handsomely that contemporary rumour whispered that neither monarch was anxious to return to his own uneasy throne. The conversation, it seems, presently touched upon the alterations to the Castle, whereupon Edward informed his Royal prisoners that he intended still further improvements, proposing to build a new King's House. Upon hearing this King John commented upon the fact that the site of the Castle was badly chosen, it being, to some extent, a short distance down the hill,

and not on the highest possible point and so "more open to see and to be seen afar off." The King of the Scots agreed with his French cousin. After reflection King Edward "approved their sayings, adding pleasantly, that it should be so, and that he would bring his castle thither, that is to say, enlarge it so far with two other wards, the charges whereof should be borne with their two ransoms, as after it came to pass."

This anecdote is a pleasant one, and its authenticity seems vouched for, since King John's Tower was apparently named after the king whose ransom had paid for it. Unfortunately other facts fail to confirm this. John returned to France to arrange about his ransom, leaving in his place as hostages four princes of the blood-royal, but one of these was so unknighly as to make his escape. This feat was so hurtful to King John's code of honour that he hastened to return to England and custody. Here he died, a few months later, so that it is doubtful whether his ransom ever was paid.

A second and more important factor which helps to discredit this tradition is that nowhere does any building erected in the time of Edward III extend beyond the limits of the Castle as it was in the time of Henry II. The truth is that Edward built *inward*, not *outward*, and though to him may be laid the honour of creating the quadrangle of the upper ward, he did so inside Henry II's walls, not outside. Probably what the chroniclers intended to convey was that Edward completed the quadrangle by filling in the space between the end of the present Servants' Hall and the Round Tower which overlooked the north slope.

To return to Edward's improvements, these consisted, in the lower ward, of making extensive alterations to the chapel of St. Edward, including the addition of glazed windows and many stalls, in order that it should be in keeping with the newly-founded Order of the Garter, each member of which, by the rules of the Order, had to have a stall, over which should be hung his helm and sword; also included were the rebuilding of the adjoining cloister, together with the erection of a vestry and chapter-house. At the same time lodgings were planned for the warden, and the canons and vicars of the new college, together with other offices, such as a roasting-house, bakery, brewery, mill, and latrine. A clock for the great tower was also made. In connection with this and subsequent works meticulous accounts

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have been kept of all expenses even to such small items as ninepence for "one empty cask for putting in plaster-of-Paris," and tenpence for an iron clamp. Indeed, a study of these accounts causes one to wonder whether any modern builder could present such an analysed account of comparable work. In comparing the expenses of these improvements with the expenses for the Round Table building an interesting fact is revealed. Though six years only had passed, wages had risen by an appreciable amount, in some instances by as much as 50 per cent, labourers, for instance, received threepence a day instead of twopence. For this rise the Black Death was largely responsible since the heavy mortality among workers caused an increased demand for labour, and a corresponding willingness on the part of employers to pay higher wages. Another proof of this shortage of labour was the temporary inability to secure a master lime-burner for the Castle works. For some weeks several men were engaged in excavating chalk, but apparently none of them knew how to produce lime, so most of the men were taken away from their work and quicklime was bought from outside sources. When at last two lime-burners were secured it was discovered that through disuse the kiln had become almost derelict, so that immediate repairs were necessary.

All the work in the lower ward, executed between the years 1350 and 1356, was under the survey, first of John Peynton, then of Richard de Rotheley, next of William de Hurle, or Herland, and then of Robert de Benham. In the year 1356 the French King, together with his son Philip, were first sent as prisoners to Windsor Castle, where they were permitted freely to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions they pleased, as well as to receive visits, on parole of honour, from other French nobles who were held as prisoners in London. In this same year the famous William of Wykeham was appointed surveyor, at the salary of one shilling a day while he remained at the Castle, and two shillings a day whenever he had to be away on business.

During the first two or three years of William's survey, work on the lower ward was finished, even though the Royal exchequer was so empty that directions were given for twelve of the King's beasts and best horses to be sold. But in the year 1359 the King was once more so financially sound that "our lord the King," says Ranulf Higden, "at the instance of William Wikham, clerk, caused many excellent buildings in the Castle of Windsor to be

thrown down, and others more fair and sumptuous to be set up. For almost all the masons and carpenters throughout the whole of England were brought to that building, so that hardly anyone could have any good mason or carpenter, except in secret, on account of the King's prohibition. Moreover, the said William Wikham was of very low birth, he was even reported to be of servile condition, yet he was very shrewd, and a man of great industry. Considering how he could please the King and secure his goodwill, he counselled the King to build the said Castle of Windsor in such wise as appears to-day to the beholder."

A great deal of the money used for these buildings probably came from the purses of the French nobility, for in 1356, after extensive ravaging, the Black Prince fought the Battle of Poitiers. It was at this battle that the French King was taken prisoner. So were many other famous knights, including that most romantic one of all, Bertrand du Guesclin. It was probably the ransom money for these knights, rather than that for the King, which helped to pay for the improvements at Windsor Castle. Indeed, Bertrand du Guesclin on his own account must have contributed a considerable sum, for he was asked by the Black Prince to name his own ransom; and instead of suggesting a nominal amount, as in these days he would undoubtedly do, the renowned warrior, so it is said, mentioned as a sum the equivalent of one hundred thousand pieces of gold—variously called pounds, crowns, florins, or francs, but most probably *crowns*, worth approximately three and fourpence each—a truly colossal amount which would have to be multiplied many times to appreciate the comparative value of that sum.

The Black Prince, astonished at the value which his prisoner had placed upon himself, asked du Guesclin how such a large amount could be raised. "I know a hundred knights in my native Brittany who would mortgage their last acre rather than du Guesclin should either languish in captivity or be rated below his value," replied the French knight. "Yea, and there is not a woman in France now toiling at her distaff who would not devote a day's earnings to see me free, for well have I deserved of their sex. And if all the fair spinners in France employ their hands to redeem me, think you, Prince, whether I shall bide much longer with you."

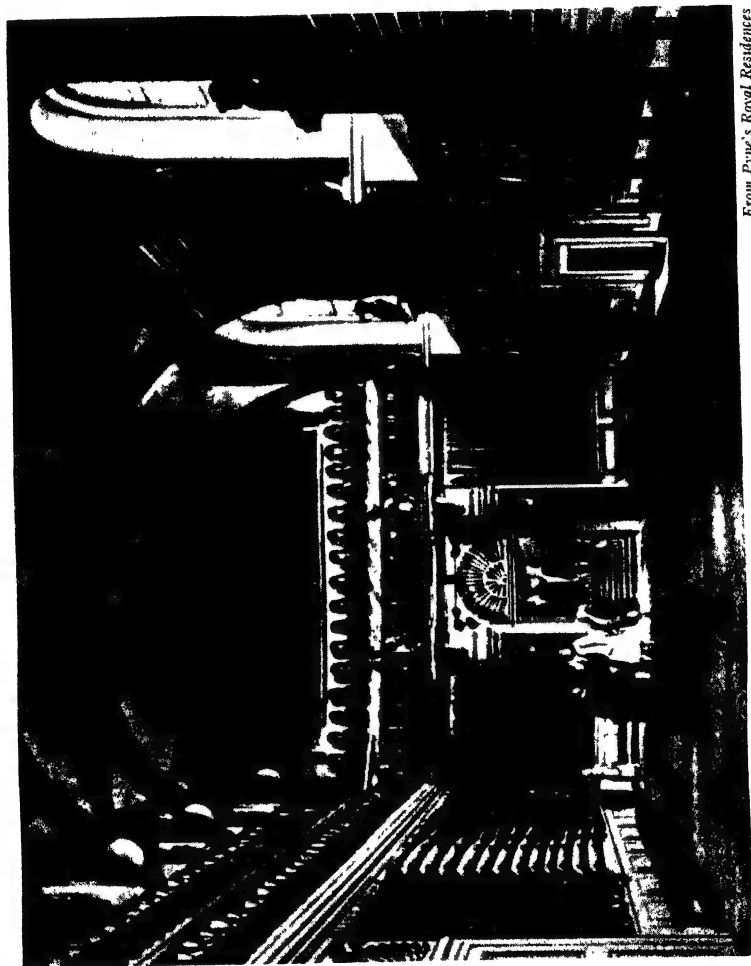
This haughty reply was overheard by Queen Philippa who chanced to be present. Touched by the Frenchman's pride she

turned to the Black Prince, saying: "My son, I name fifty thousand crowns as my contribution toward your gallant prisoner's ransom; for though an enemy to my husband, a knight who is famed for the courteous protection he has afforded to my sex deserves the assistance of every woman."

The "fair and sumptuous" buildings were considerable and extensive. In the middle ward they consisted of a wall and tower, connecting the outer wall of the lower and middle wards, the two buildings each side of the Inner Gatehouse or Norman Gate, and the stairs leading up to the Round Tower. In the upper ward the most important building was that of King John's Tower, and three sides of the block which now comprises, on the ground floor, the Billiard-room, the Grand Hall and Lobby, and the Vestibule, and on the first floor, the Van Dyck Room, Audience Chamber, Presence Chamber, Guard Room and Grand Vestibule. Continuing eastward, an upper floor was built over the rear part of the north wing built by Henry III which became the Royal Chapel, and Saint George's Hall. To connect up the north and east wings the Kitchen Gatehouse was built, with the Prince of Wales's Guard Chamber above, and the walls of the old kitchen repaired.

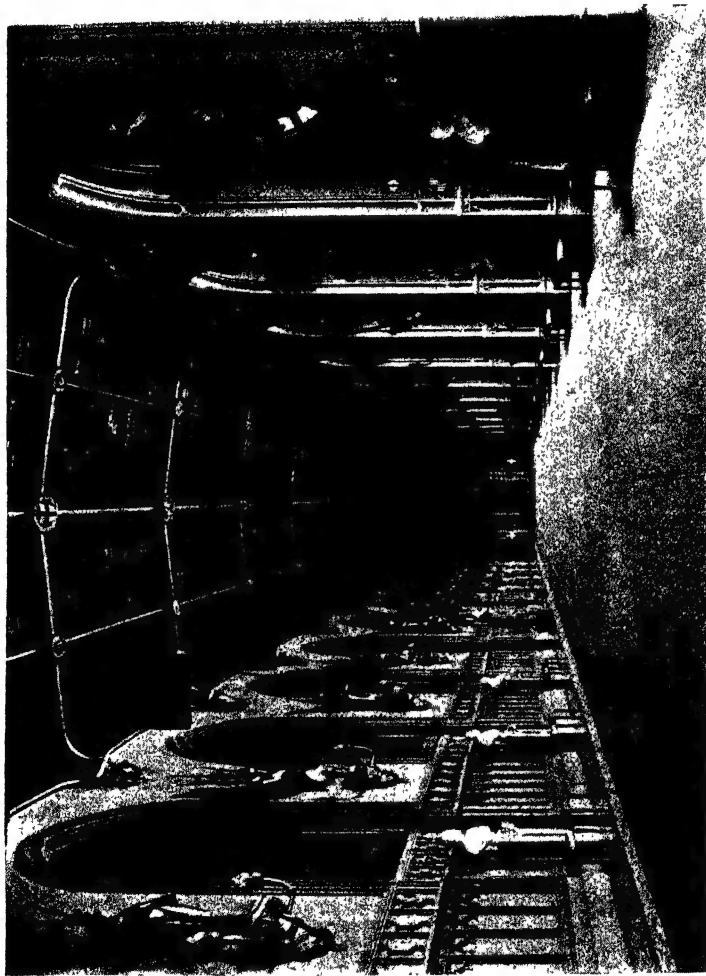
Along the east front, from the Norman Tower (now the Brunswick Tower) to the south wing (taking in two towers now called Chester and Clarence Towers) a complete range of lodgings was built, which was continued along the south front to Gerard's Tower, now called Edward III's Tower (though it was built by Henry III). Two towers along this front, now the Augusta and York Towers, were extensively repaired and the wall between rebuilt. Lastly, the Rubbish Gate (now non-existent) was erected.

Such were the alterations and additions made to the Castle during the reign of Edward III, but before returning to that monarch, it is necessary to mention an amusing anecdote featuring William of Wykeham, to whom Wycliffe was alluding when he said that "benefices, instead of being bestowed on poor clerks, are heaped on a kitchen clerk, or one wise in building castles, or in worldly business." Probably the chroniclers who, in so slighting a manner, spoke of Wykeham's "servile condition" must have had reason for disliking the prelate (for he later became Bishop of Winchester); but whether born of lowly station or not, Wykeham was audacious, and by his audacity once fell foul of



From Pyne's Royal Residences

Old Guard Chamber



Country Life

St. George's Hall as it is to-day. The largest room in Windsor Castle built originally by Edward III for the holding of the Banquets of the Knights of the Garter. Observe the arms of the knights on ceiling, walls, and window recesses

the King. To commemorate his connection with the rebuilding of the Castle Wykeham is said to have had inscribed on one of the stones in the present Winchester Tower the words: "*Hoc fecit Wykeham*," which Edward angrily translated as "Wykeham built this." No doubt Edward's translation was no more nor no less than that intended by the surveyor, and, if so, then Wykeham did no more than the modern architect does to-day. Edward's anger, however, warned Wykeham that he must make the King believe otherwise. He had recently received preferment after preferment and, with a cunning which one associates with a statesman or a diplomat rather than with a good Churchman, Wykeham hastily remonstrated with his sovereign, pointing out that the words did not imply that Wykeham had made the building, but that the building had made Wykeham, as proved by his rewards—an adroit explanation which fully satisfied Edward.

So back to 1350, when these extensive alterations were begun. Notwithstanding the work in progress at the Castle, Edward continued to spend much of his time there, living in the High Tower until such time as the fine buildings, in the course of erection, were completed. England was at peace, for the Black Plague had the one fortunate effect of putting an end to war with France, except for desultory expeditions, while the King of the Scots—Edward's brother-in-law—was, as we have seen, a prisoner at Windsor Castle, having a thoroughly enjoyable time. For the next few years very little happened, either of general interest or of consequence to this story, save the work of rebuilding the lower ward of the Castle, which has already been described. In 1356 began the third campaign against France, this time under the leadership of the Black Prince. Edward remained at home, possibly because he had confidence in his son's ability as a military commander, though such was his love for fighting that it is difficult to believe this. In that year the Battle of Poitiers was fought, and the French King captured and brought to England.

Two years later, on the 23rd of April, 1358, the Feast of Saint George was celebrated at the Castle in a more sumptuous manner than ever before, in honour of the French King and the French nobility. Not only were many English and French nobles present at the feast, but so were lords and knights from the Continent, and the King and Queen of the Scots, David having been released from captivity the previous year. Everybody was attired in their

richest apparel—Queen Philippa had been given a present from her husband of £500 for the “preparation of her apparel”—and such was the profusion of luxury that the King of France is said to have been amazed beyond measure—and possibly saddened as he reflected dismally that French money was to pay for it.

In 1360 peace with France was signed, and the ransom money for King John's release was agreed at three million golden crowns. In anticipation of this amount, which he was never to receive, Edward went merrily ahead with the building of his Castle. Meanwhile the labour shortage was becoming ever more acute and it became necessary for the King to issue writs for the impressing of labourers to work at the Castle “at the King's wages, as long as was necessary.” Like most harsh measures, it was not entirely successful. Certainly labourers were impressed but, upon being offered work elsewhere at higher wages, many of them stole away in secret, until the number employed at the Castle became so alarmingly low that it was necessary to proclaim publicly that any clerk or layman employing any men from the Castle works would be punished.

The following year the Castle was the scene of an important ceremony, for in that year, on the 10th of October, 1361, Edward the Black Prince married his cousin, the Lady Joan, more popularly known as the Fair Maid of Kent, whose face and personal charms, it seems, were fairer than her morals, for, subsequently, certain uncharitable-minded gossipers were not above declaring that her son, Richard (afterwards Richard II), was not the son of the Black Prince.

A little more than three years later the Castle was again the scene of a Royal wedding, this time the bride was the King's eldest daughter, Isabella, who married Lord de Courcy. The ceremony was performed, it is said, with great pomp and splendour, and the marriage feast kept there “in most royal and triumphant wise.”

From that time forward Edward ceased to be the spectacular, knightly King which he had hitherto been. He became content to leave the leadership in hands quite as capable as his own—those of his sons, the Black Prince and John of Gaunt. The King was beginning to age. Perhaps in these days we would hesitate to call a man of forty-eight an old man, but in mediæval times the span of human life was considerably shorter, for early maturity, incessant warfare and recurring plagues caused the

average male lifetime to be about forty years. At forty-eight Edward no longer aspired to lead his armies against the French and the Scots, to risk his life in single combat, to suffer the hardships of campaigning. At forty-eight he was appreciating domesticity and the pleasures of the flesh.

Queen Philippa was still alive; Edward still felt affection for the faithful wife who had borne him twelve children, but his gaze was frequently upon a lady of the Queen's household—Alice Perrers, "the often named harlot," daughter of a Herefordshire squire. Not much is known about Alice, even her parentage is subject to doubt, for one contemporary writer does not hesitate to accuse her of being "of a base kindred, for she was a weaver's daughter of Hunneye, beside Exeter," while another gives her as the daughter of a tiler, of the same village. Yet, since she later became one of the Queen's household, it seems more reasonable to believe she was of gentler birth.

Whatever her origin, she entered the Queen's service some time before October, 1366, though how soon before is in doubt. Edward's passions were aroused and, later, she captivated the King so completely that she "was not ashamed to sit in the seat of judgment at Westminster, and there, either for herself, or her friends or the King as to promtix, was not afeared to speak in causes and presently to ask of the judges different sentences in her matters, who, fearing the King's displeasure, or rather more truly fearing the harlot, durst not oftentimes judge otherwise than she had defined." Male passions of this nature are not usually of slow growth, and it is likely that Edward was quickly enamoured of the Queen's new attendant. If this was the case, then Alice Perrers was not long with the Queen before the October of 1366, for in that month Edward made what was probably the first of his many gifts to her, two tuns of wine.

As attendant to the Queen, Alice went where the Queen went, and as Philippa was frequently at Windsor during the later years of her life, it may be taken for granted that Alice also was there, spending many stolen hours with the King, until he became a slave to her whims. During the next two years he heaped wealth and honours upon his mistress, until she was recognized as a power in the land.

In 1369 England suffered from another outbreak of the plague. The plague was no respecter of persons; it visited gentle and simple alike and this time it counted among its

victims no less a person than "the good Queen of England, that so many good deeds had done in her time, and so many knights succoured, and ladies and damsels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goods to her people, and naturally loved always the nation of Hainault, the country where she was born, she fell sick in the Castle of Windsor, the which sickness continued on her so long, that there was no remedy but death. And the good lady, when she knew and perceived that there was no remedy but death, she desired to speak with the King her husband, and when he was before her she put out of her bed her right hand, and took the King by his right hand, who was right sorrowful at his heart.

"Then she said: 'Sir, we have in peace, joy, and great prosperity used all our time together. Sir, now I pray you, at our departing, that ye will grant me three desires.'

"The King, right sorrowfully weeping, said: 'Madam, desire what ye will, I grant it.'

"'Sir,' said she, 'I require you, first of all, that all manner of people, such as I have dealt withall in their merchandise, on this side the sea or beyond, that it may please you to pay everything that I owe to them, or to any other. And, secondly, sir, all such ordinance and promises as I have made to the Churches, as well of this country as beyond the sea, whereat I have had my devotion, that it may please you to accomplish and to fulfil the same. Thirdly, sir, I require you, that it may please you to take none other sepulture, whensoever it shall please God to call you out of this transitory life, but beside me in Westminster.'

"The King, all weeping, said: 'Madam, I grant all your desire.'

"Then the good lady and Queen made on her the sign of the cross, and commended the King her husband to God, and her youngest son, Thomas, who was there beside her. And anon, after, she yielded up the spirit, the which I believe surely the holy angels received with great joy up to Heaven, for in all her life she did neither in thought nor deed thing whereby to lose her soul, as far as any creature could know. Thus the good Queen of England died, in the year of our Lord 1369, in the vigil of our Lady in the middle of August."

Although of no real consequence, here, as a matter of interest, is another translation of the last paragraph of the same passage.

"Soon after, the good lady made the sign of the cross on her

breast, and having recommended to the King her youngest son, Thomas, who was present praying to God, she gave up her spirit, which I firmly believe was caught by holy angels and carried to the glory of Heaven, for she had never done anything by thought or deed to endanger her soul."

The King's heart was not so sorrowed that he was unable to find consolation for the death of his wife in the arms of Alice Perrers. Indeed it seems that, as long as the Queen had lived, Edward had forced a certain restraint upon himself, but now he no longer did so. Each year his paramour received even greater wealth and honours. In 1371 she was given the manor of Wendover. The following year the King bought her jewels to the value of £397. A little more than twelve months later Edward gave her "all the jewels—which were ours, as well as those of our late consort," a poor way of keeping poor Philippa's memory evergreen.

Shortly afterwards the King reached the conclusion that his liaison might be rendered decent by Alice's marrying some nice man, so it was arranged for one William de Windsor to become her loving spouse, and as a token of gratitude Edward made, through Alice, a gift to William of £1615 3s. 11d.—though the reason for the odd 3s. 11d. does not, unfortunately, appear. Shortly afterward Alice Perrers became Alice de Windsor.

The death of the Queen was a sad loss to England. Her marriage to Edward had proved coincidental with the dawn of another golden era in the history of England. Under the leadership of a gallant and courageous king, English armies had come to be so feared that, on some occasions, foreign armies had fled at the mere approach of the dreaded English soldiers. In France, Scotland and Spain victory had followed victory, and when Edward grew too old to play his former, valiant part, his son, the Black Prince, took his place.

With the death of Philippa the outlook seemed to change. Shattered in health the Black Prince returned to England and Windsor, where he was affectionately received by his father, and there he stayed for some time. His health failed to improve and he moved to Berkhamstead, where he died in 1376. In the meantime, while Alice sapped the King's "honour, and not only with her pleasant enticements craftily entrapped him, but (as it is said) by evil arts had so much drawn him to the unlawful

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loving of her that his old heart dried from [him] his natural moisture by lusts of Venus, and weakened his whole body, and so she brought a double damage unto him, for she made him reproachful of all nations near and almost devoid of all strength," in France all the possessions won by Edward and his eldest son were fast vanishing again. At home John of Gaunt, Edward's unscrupulous third son, with Alice's subtle influence, was beginning to rule England, and, by so doing, incurring the enmity of Parliament.

And so the reign that had been so long a blaze of glory approached a miserable end, with English armies everywhere being defeated, with English ships being forcibly driven out of the Channel by foreign vessels little better than pirates, and with Edward the King living only for the sweet, destroying caresses of his light-of-love.

In 1376 Alice de Windsor and others were impeached by "The good Parliament," which was supported by the Black Prince and the now powerful William of Wykeham. As a result of these proceedings (the first of their kind in English history) Alice was banished, but she had barely had time to realize that her sentence meant her downfall when the Black Prince died, whereupon she returned to the bed of her paramour.

Less than twelve months later Edward died, and the Black Prince's son, Richard of Bordeaux, ascended the Throne.



William of Wykeham.

CHAPTER X

RICHARD THE REDELESS

AT the time of his accession to the Throne Richard II was but ten years of age. He reigned twenty-two years, and it was a sad period in the annals of English history, perhaps all the more so in comparison with the brilliant epoch which it followed. Little can be said in favour of Richard as a king, and still less in his favour as a man. He was wilful, cunning, revengeful, tempestuous and vacillating, and the fate that was to be his was no more than he deserved. Yet it would be unfair not to admit that the death of his father, the Black Prince, created an unprecedented situation in English history; for Richard sat upon the throne as the son of a prince, demanding loyalty from the sons of a king. This, and the fact that during the early years of his reign he came under the control of unscrupulous relations, were disruptive influences in his life. Nor was he helped by the news received during the first few days of his reign, that the coast of the country which had produced the victors of Crecy and Poitiers was ravaged by men who not long before had trembled at the very mention of an Englishman.

With so much that was fine in Edward III and in the Black Prince, it is difficult to understand how it was that no such traits were passed on to Richard, yet, apart from personal courage, his character is devoid of anything admirable. Richard seems so little the son of the one and the grandson of the other, that one is almost tempted to credit the contemporary belief that he was no child of the Black Prince.

Very early in the new reign Windsor Castle occupied the attention of the King and of the council nominated by Parliament to assist the King until he was of a riper age. Differences arose between the dean and canons of St. George's and the poor knights. According to the statutes of the college instituted by Edward III it was the daily duty of each poor knight to attend

the chapel, failing which he was fined twelve pence, the sum of money daily allowed each knight, such fines to be converted to the use of the other knights. The poor knights now complained that the statutes were being contravened, for notwithstanding this provision, the dean was practising a form of conversion by disposing of the fines and other offerings at his own pleasure whereby the knights were deprived of their lawful dues.

In view of this complaint the chancellor instituted a rigid investigation not only into the matter of this retention of fines, but also into the conduct of the dean, the canons and the poor knights, which investigation brought to light many peculiar facts which went to show that many of the people concerned were far from leading the chaste life required of them. The dean was found guilty, as charged, of disposing of fines and gifts as he pleased, of retaining too long the salaries of his vicars, and of appropriating for his own use dues of vacant stalls. Furthermore it seems that a church appropriated to the college had been let to farm to a layman, and that a gift of £200 from William of Wykeham had positively vanished without trace. Lastly the dean had coolly converted the college close into a kitchen garden which he used for his own purposes.

The dean was not the only one found guilty of misconduct, for one of the canons was stated to be profligate and irreverent, and guilty of talking scandal to laymen during the hours of Mass, while another canon spent his time in hunting, fishing, and other kindred, but uncanonical exercises. Other canons were careless in their duties, attending chapel no more than one hour per day and disappearing immediately after having received their daily stipend. Of the other parties, one of the vicars was found guilty of adultery, and two of the elder knights were discovered to possess licentious habits. One of them was in the habit of falling to sleep immediately after prayers, and so soundly that only with difficulty was he aroused sufficiently to receive the sacrament.

This fine state of affairs was speedily righted. The dean was ordered to distribute properly all emoluments, to divide gifts equally between himself, the canons, and the knights, and to keep college records in proper order. For his own misconduct he was severely reproved.

It is likely that the discussion of the gifts and offerings already mentioned was responsible for the taking of an inventory

of the riches thus acquired, with the rather surprising result that already the chapel was richer in plate, jewels, vestments, relics, and ornaments. This inventory, printed in the *Monasticon*, makes interesting reading, revealing as it does that the chapel then possessed in addition to vestments, certain copes, jewels, crosses, silver-gilt images, angels, vessels of all kinds set with precious stones, relics comprising a portion of the milk of the Virgin Mary; parts of the skulls of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas the Apostle; parts of arms of St. William of York, St. George, St. Osytho, and St. Richard; the bones of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, St. Thomas of Hereford, St. David, St. William of England, St. Maurice, and St. Elizabeth; part of the jaw-bone of St. Mark, containing twelve teeth, and parts of bones of St. Gerard and St. Vitale; part of the brain of St. Eustace; pieces of the Lord's supper-table, and of the Virgin Mary's tomb; some of St. Thomas of Canterbury's blood; one of the flints which had stoned St. Stephen, a shirt of St. Thomas the Martyr, a girdle given by St. John the Evangelist to St. Mary, and a candle-end which had belonged to the Virgin Mary.

In common with his grandfather, Richard was, apparently, fond of the Castle. He spent the Christmas of 1378 there, he was there during the Eastertide of 1380 when his half-sister, the Lady Joan de Courtney, married Lord Valeran, Earl of St. Paul's, and there was, as usual, "great triumphing." Possibly he remained there for some weeks after the wedding, for he celebrated that Whitsuntide there. He was at Windsor when, in the following year, news was received that the peasants had risen under the leadership of Wat Tyler, and were advancing on London. At the head of one hundred sergeants and knights, and accompanied by the Earl of Derby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, Richard left Windsor Castle and proceeded to the Tower of London "for greater security"—which three words pointedly reveal the changes which had occurred during the previous reign. The Castle had ceased to be a fortified stronghold and had become, instead, a sumptuous palace.

On the 14th and 15th of June the King proved that he was both courageous and had a quick wit, for those two days were a glorious interlude in an otherwise inglorious reign. The story of them is well known. On the first day the boy of fourteen sat on his horse facing unflinchingly an unruly mob of peasants

which was rapidly growing out of hand. Perhaps he was heartened by their cries of "We want no King but thee, O Richard!" but if so, one must still give him credit for his courage and quick-wittedness during the crisis which occurred the following day, when Wat Tyler was killed. At the sight of their murdered leader on the ground the commoners strung their bows. Within a few minutes a bloody fracas would have begun, but Richard rode forward toward the angry peasants shouting: "I will be your captain! Come with me into the fields and you shall have all you ask." And he led them away from the Smithfield market-square into the Clerkenwell Fields, where the poor devils found themselves trapped, and were forced to disperse, later to be unmercifully slaughtered.

A few months after this unhappy affair Richard married Anne of Bohemia at Westminster Palace. After the usual feasting the King "carried his bride to Windsor, where he kept an open and noble house. They were very happy together." The next few months must have been the brightest in Richard's reign. He had not yet made enemies, he was still liked by the populace, and he was, as Froissart says, happy in the company of his bride. The open and noble house which he then kept was never again to be so noble.

During the next few years Richard was often at the Castle, sometimes holding Great Councils there, sometimes breaking his journeys to London by halting there for a few days. Meanwhile he was quickly making himself unpopular by doing much as Edward II had done, surrounding himself with favourites, and heeding their advice rather than that offered by Parliament. His extravagance reached enormous proportions. Lastly he seemed to be encouraging a war with France when the people were weary of war.

In 1386 there was a rumour of new taxes. The Londoners, always in the forefront of any move to protect the rights of the people—and their pockets—stirred restlessly, and addressed a sympathizer, the Duke of Gloucester, one of Richard's uncles, to suggest that he should take upon himself the government of the country. Perhaps Gloucester would have done so had he dared, but he was more cautious. He told the Londoners to address a personal remonstrance to the King, together with a request for the three estates to be assembled for the purpose of enquiring into the conduct of the King's hated advisers.

"When you shall have made this remonstrance to the King, he will give you an answer," continued the Duke. "If he should say: 'We will consider of it,' cut the matter short, and declare you will not have any delay; and press it the more to alarm him, as well as his minions. Say boldly, that the country will not suffer it, and it is wonderful they have borne it so long. My brother and myself will be with the King, and also the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Northumberland; but say nothing should we not be present, for we are the principal personages in England, and will second you in your remonstrance, by adding that what you require is but reasonable and just. When he shall hear us thus speak, he will not contradict us, unless he be very ill-advised indeed; and will appoint a day accordingly. This is the advice and the remedy I offer you."

This advice was by no means unwelcome to the Londoners, whose spokesman replied: "My lord, you have loyally spoken; but it will be difficult for us to find the King and as many lords as you have named at one time in his presence."

Gloucester then pointed out that it would be St. George's Day in ten days' time, when the King and many of his nobles would be present at Windsor Castle for the purpose of holding the usual festival there. Pleased at this news the Londoners said that a number of them would go to Windsor Castle on St. George's Day and interview the King.

The Duke of Gloucester had not misled the Londoners. One characteristic which Richard had inherited from his grandfather was that of a passion for pageantry. Whenever possible he was punctual in his observance of Garter celebrations at the Castle on St. George's Day though, as will be related, few if any of them ever reached the magnificence of those held by Edward III, chiefly because of Richard's personal unpopularity.

On that particular occasion the King and Queen went to Windsor for the St. George's Day festival. The Londoners did not intrude upon him on that day, but the day following, sixty of them, accompanied by an equal number from some of the provincial towns, arrived at Windsor, lodged in the town, and sent a message to the King requesting an audience. This Richard was unwilling to grant, having no doubt a guilty conscience and a consequent dread of facing his subjects. He tried to postpone the evil hour by suggesting an appointment with the commons

at a place some few miles distant, but the Earl of Salisbury persuaded the King to see the deputation at the Castle.

Then, says Froissart, "The commons were introduced to the presence in the lower hall, without the new building, where the palace stood in former times. The King was attended by his two uncles, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Northumberland, and several others of the nobility. The commons made their harangue to the King, by their spokesman, a citizen of London called Simon de Sudbury, a man of sense and oratory. He formed his speech from what the Duke of Gloucester had said to them; and, as you have heard that, I need not take more notice of it. The King having heard it, replied: 'Ye commons of England, your requests are great and important, and cannot be immediately attended to; for we shall not long remain here, nor are all our council with us—indeed the greater part are absent. I therefore bid each of you return quietly to your homes, and there peaceably remain, unless sent for, until Michaelmas, when the parliament shall be assembled at Westminster. Come thither and lay your requests before us, which we will submit to our council. What we approve shall be granted, and what we think improper refused. For think not we are to be ruled by our people. That has never been; and we can perceive nothing but what is right and just in our government, and in those who govern under us.' Upwards of seven instantly replied to the King, and said, 'Most redoubted lord, under your grace's favour, your justice is weak, indeed, in the realm, and you know not what behoveth you to know; for you neither make inquiry, nor examine into what is passing; and those who are your advisers will never tell you, for the great wealth they are amassing. It is not justice, sir King, to cut off our heads, wrists, or feet, or any way to punish; but justice consists in the maintaining the subject in his right, and in taking care he live in peace, without having any cause of complaint. We must also say that you have appointed too long a day by referring us to Michaelmas. No time can be better than the present; we therefore unanimously declare that we will have an account, and very shortly too, from those who have governed your kingdom since your coronation, and know what is become of the great sums that have been raised in England for these last nine years, and whither they have passed. If those who have been your treasurers

shall give a just account or nearly so, we shall be much rejoiced, and leave them in their offices. Those who shall not produce honest acquittances for their expenditure shall be treated accordingly, by the commissioners that are to be nominated by you and our lords your uncles.'

"The King on this, looked at his uncles to see if they would say anything, when the Duke of Gloucester said: 'that he saw nothing but what was just and reasonable in the demands they had made. What do you say, fair brother of York?' 'As God may help me, it is all true,' he replied, as did the other barons who were present; but the King wished them to give their opinions separately. 'Sir,' added the Duke of Gloucester, 'it is but fair that you know how your money has been expended.' The King, perceiving they were all united, and that his minions dared not utter one word, for they were overawed by the presence of the nobles, said: 'Well, I consent to it; let them be sent away, for summer is now approaching, and the time for my amusement in hunting.' Then, addressing the Londoners, he added: 'Would you have the matter instantly despatched?' 'Yes, we entreat it of you, noble King; we shall likewise beg of these lords to take part, more particularly our lords your uncles.' The dukes replied they would willingly undertake it, as well on the part of their lord and King as for the country. The commoners then said: 'We also wish that the reverend fathers, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, be parties.' They said they would cheerfully do so. When this was agreed to, they nominated the lords present, such as the Earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, Sir Reginald Cobham, Sir Guy de Bryan, Sir Thomas Felton, Sir Mathew Gournay; and said there should be from two to four of the principal persons from each city or large town, who would represent the commons of England. All this was assented to, and the time for their meeting fixed for the week after St. George's Day, to be holden at Westminster; and all the King's ministers and treasurers were ordered to attend, and give an account of their administrations to the before-named lords. The King consented to the whole, not through force, but at the solicitations and prayers of his uncles, the other lords, and commons of England.

"It indeed concerned them to know how affairs had been managed, both in former times and in those of the present day.

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All having been amicably settled, the assembly broke up; and the lords, on leaving Windsor, returned to London, whither were summoned all collectors and receivers from the different counties, with their receipts and acquittances, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods."

Richard failed to interpret as a warning the attitude of the commons, and continued to misrule. Within a few months of the interview at the Castle he precipitated a fresh crisis by creating one of his young favourites Marquis of Dublin. The following October Parliament demanded the dismissal of the chancellor and treasurer. This Richard refused to consider, retired to Eltham, and further aggravated the situation by raising the Marquis of Dublin to the rank of Duke of Ireland. Richard was then threatened with the fate of Edward II unless he returned to Westminster. The chancellor, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was dismissed and impeached, and for a time imprisoned in Windsor Castle.

During 1387 matters failed to improve; war between the King and his favourites on the one hand, and his uncles and the nobles on the other, seemed inevitable, but Richard capitulated when the Duke of Ireland's troops were routed at Radcotbridge, and the Londoners refused to take up arms against Gloucester. The favourites were impeached, and some of them sentenced to death.

There was a brief interval of peace. On the following St. George's Day the King held a festival at Windsor Castle which was attended by the Earl of Arundel and many lords, who were *en route* to Brittany to lend a hand in fighting the French. Then in the following year a commission was issued for the repair of Windsor Castle. As a consequence of this commission letters patent were issued on the 12th of July, 1390, to a certain clerk of the King's work in the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London and elsewhere, appointing him for a period of three years for the purpose of attending to "our collegiate chapel of Saint George within our Castle of Windsor, which is threatened with ruin and on the point of falling to the ground unless it be quickly repaired." The clerk so appointed was none other than Geoffrey Chaucer.

Chaucer was already familiar with the Castle. Thirty years previous to his appointment as clerk to the works at Windsor Castle he had spent some time there in the household of Lionel,

Edward III's second son. He was at "the feast of Saint George held there with great pomp in connection with the newly founded order of the Garter." He was there, too, in the following year.

He was a versatile fellow. From being a page he became a warrior. He accompanied one of the English expeditions into France, was taken prisoner, and ransomed. When he returned home he joined the King's household, and became a poet. Later he travelled frequently to the Continent, being then engaged on some commercial matters. In 1374 he was appointed as a comptroller of customs, in 1377 he seems to have become a secret service agent of sorts, in 1382 he was again a comptroller of customs, and then, in 1386, clerk of the King's works at various palaces. Throughout these years he wrote many of his famous poems.

He was now expressly commanded to repair the chapel of St. George, which was on the point of falling to the ground. The fact that the chapel, completed less than forty years previously, was in such an indifferent state is yet another mute indictment of many of the building operations of those days, for it has already been noted elsewhere that the Castle seldom remained in a state of good repair for long. Portions of wall seemed ever apt to collapse at inconvenient moments. Yet, elsewhere in England, buildings contemporary with the early Castle still stand, and thus seemingly belie such an accusation. Perhaps the fault with the Castle buildings was in their foundations.

Chaucer did not long keep his appointment, for about the middle of 1391 he was superseded, and the post was given to one John Gedney, and to prove his versatility Chaucer then became a forester. Before he left the Castle, however, he had the pleasure of seeing the King there, for in October of the previous year "On Saturday the King and his Court left London for Windsor, whither the Count d'Ostrevant, the Count de St. Pol, and the foreign knights who had been present at the feasts, were invited. All accepted the invitation, as was right, and went to Windsor, which has a handsome castle, well built and richly ornamented, situated on the Thames, twenty miles from London. The entertainments were very magnificent in the dinners and suppers King Richard made, for he thought he could not pay honour enough to his cousin, the Count d'Ostrevant. He was solicited by the King and his uncles to be one of the Companions

of the Order of the Blue Garter, as the chapel of St. George, the patron, was at Windsor. In answer to their request, he said he would consider of it, and instantly consulted the Lord de Gomegines and the bastard Fierabras de Vertain, who were far from discouraging him from accepting the order. He returned to the King, and was admitted a Knight Companion of the Garter, to the great surprise of the French knights then present. They murmured together, and said, 'This Count d'Ostrevant plainly shows that his heart is more inclined to England than France, when he thus accepts the Order of the Garter, which is the device of the Kings of England. He is purchasing the ill will of the Court of France, and of my Lord of Burgundy, whose daughter he has married, and a time may come for him to repent of it. However, to say the truth, he must know what concerns him best; but he was well beloved by the King of France, his brother the Duke of Touraine, and all the royal family, so that when he came to them at Paris or elsewhere they showed him more kindness than to any other of their cousins.'

"Thus was the Count d'Ostrevant blamed by the French without the smallest cause; for what he had done was no way to injure the cause of France, nor his cousins and friends of that country. Nothing was farther from his mind than any hostility to the King of France; but he had accepted the Garter to oblige his cousins in England, and on occasion to be a mediator between the two countries. When he took the oaths usual on the admission of knights to the order, it ought to be known publicly that nothing was said or done prejudicial to France, nor any treaties entered into with that intent. I mention this, since it is impossible to prevent the envious from spreading abroad their tales. When the entertainments at Windsor had lasted a sufficient time, and the King had made handsome presents to the knights and squires of France, particularly to the young Count d'Ostrevant, the company took leave of the King, the Queen, and the Court, and departed for their different homes.

"Rumour, which magnifies everything, carried to the King of France, his brother, and uncles, every particular that had passed at this feast in England. Those who had been there confirmed it; nothing was forgotten, but rather additions made, with the intent of doing mischief in preference to good. They related that William of Hainault, who called himself Count d'Ostrevant, had taken great pains to honour this feast, that he

had had the prize given him at the tournament in preference to many other foreign knights, and that he was loud in the praise of the English, and was become the liegeman to the King of England by taking the oaths and accepting the Order of the Blue Garter, in the chapel of Saint George at Windsor, which order had been established by King Edward and his son the Prince of Wales; that no one could be admitted a knight companion of that order without making oath never to bear arms against the crown of England, and this oath the Count d'Ostrevant had taken without the smallest reservation.

"The King of France and his uncles, on hearing this, were much troubled and vexed with the Count d'Ostrevant, who was summoned to Paris to do homage for the county of Ostrevant in the presence of the peers of France, and which, notwithstanding the support of the Duke of Burgundy, he was forced to do, otherwise he would have had war instantly carried into Hainault."

Richard was again at Windsor in 1391, keeping the Feast of St. George's Day there. He did not remain there very long, for in June he was at Nottingham where were brought before him for punishment the mayor, the sheriffs, and the more important citizens of London. The reason for their arrest was the refusal of the Londoners to grant the King a loan of one thousand pounds, and the near-killing of a Lombard who was prepared to be more obliging to the King. For this heinous offence Richard ordered the mayor to be deposed, and sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, the sheriffs and citizens being sent, also prisoners, elsewhere.

Subsequently the King was somewhat pacified, and calling to mind the many gifts made to him from time to time by the Londoners he decided, at least outwardly, to treat his captives leniently. To discuss the matter he therefore "sendeth commandment to them to come to Windsore, there to shew their privileges, liberties, and laws."

On the date appointed certain of the citizens of London visited the Castle, where they were received by the King and informed that the city would henceforth be governed by a warden, two sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen. At this assembly the King had gathered together "almost all the lords, and so great an army, that the Londoners had cause to be afraid thereof, about the which preparation he was at great charges, for the which it was sure that the Londoners must pay. They, therefore,

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not ignorant that the end of these things was a money matter, submitted themselves to the King's pleasure, offering ten thousand pound. They were yet dismissed home to return again, uncertain what satisfaction and sum they should pay.

"When the citizens were returned, and that the nobles and others were gone home; the King hearing that the Londoners were in heaviness and dismayed, he said to his men, I will go (saith he) to London, and comfort the citizens, and will not that they any longer despair of my favour, which sentence was no sooner known in the city, but all men were filled with incredible joy, so that every of them generally determined to meet him, and to be as liberal in gifts as they were at his coronation."

For a few years nothing of great importance occurred at the Castle. Perhaps this was due to Richard's being there less than heretofore, for in 1394 Queen Anne died from the plague, and in his grief Richard swore never to pass through the door of any house which they had occupied together. This grief was sincere, perhaps the sincerest thing in his life. To escape familiar scenes he went to Ireland for more than six months. Then, deciding to marry again for political reasons, and to make peace with France, he betrothed himself to Isabel, the six-year-old daughter of the French King, Charles VI. He went to France, and did not return until the beginning of 1396, by which time he had married Isabel.

Richard's extravagance was rapidly becoming worse with each passing year. Some historians estimate his personal retinue at more than ten thousand people, of whom three hundred worked in the kitchens. Many of his retainers were no better than ruffianly bullies and cut-throats who, protected by the King's livery, stole, raped, and murdered such commoners as were unlucky enough to cross their paths; they made a mock of the King's justice by visiting the law courts and openly fingering their swords in a significant manner if a trial appeared likely to go contrary to their interests.

Richard's power increased. In subtle ways he undermined the Duke of Gloucester's influence, and later caused his murder. Then Arundel was unjustly executed, and Warwick exiled. The nobles became nervous—and thus happened the most important event connected with the Castle. Though it concerns Richard less than it does two of his subjects, it is far too colourful to be omitted.

Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, the future Henry IV, and the traitor Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, were riding from Brentford to London. According to Bolingbroke their conversation presently continued along these lines.

Norfolk: "We are on the point of being undone."

Hereford: "Why so?"

Norfolk: "On account of the affair of Radcotbridge."

Hereford: "How can that be, since he has granted us pardon and has declared in parliament that we behaved as good and loyal subjects?"

Norfolk: "Nevertheless, our fate will be like that of others before us. He will annul that record."

Hereford: "It will be marvellous indeed if the King, after having said so before the people, should cause it to be annulled."

Norfolk: "It is a marvellous and false world that we live in; for I know well that, had it not been for some persons, my lord your father of Lancaster and yourself would have been taken or killed when you went to Windsor after the parliament. The Dukes of Albermarle and Exeter, and the Earl of Worcester and I, have pledged ourselves never to assent to the undoing of any lord without just and reasonable cause. But this malicious project belongs to the Duke of Surrey, the Earls of Wiltshire and Salisbury, drawing to themselves the Earl of Lancaster. They have sworn to undo six lords, the Dukes of Lancaster, Hereford, Albermarle, and Exeter, the Marquess of Dorset, and myself; and have sworn to reverse the attainder of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, which would turn to the disherison of us and of many others."

Hereford: "God forbid! It will be a wonder if the King should assent to such designs. He appears to make me good cheer, and has promised to be my good lord. Indeed, he has sworn by St. Edward to be a good lord to me and the others."

Norfolk: "So has he often sworn to me by God's body; but I do not trust him the more for that. He is attempting to draw the Earl of March into the scheme of the four lords to destroy the others."

Hereford: "If that be the case, we can never trust them."

Norfolk: "Certainly not. Though they may not accomplish their purpose now, they will contrive to destroy us in our houses ten years hence."

Either foolishly or deliberately Bolingbroke divulged sufficient

of this conversation to make Richard command him to communicate the whole of the conversation to the council. As a result the council charged him to appear before Parliament, there to prosecute Mowbray, which he did, in January, 1398. Later Mowbray surrendered to Richard, when the Duke protested his innocence with these words:

"My dear lord, with your leave, if I may answer your cousin, I say that Henry of Lancaster is a liar; and in what he has said and would say of me, lies like a false traitor, as he is."

At these words Richard ordered the arrest of both accused and accuser, which was carried out. Later Bolingbroke was released on bail. Mowbray, on the other hand, unable to produce bail, was taken to Windsor Castle and there kept a prisoner until he could appear before a high court of chivalry, to be held at Windsor Castle on the 29th of April.

On that day, according to a French chronicle, "King Richard was seated on a platform which had been erected in the square of the Castle, and all the lords and prelates of his kingdom with him; and there they caused to appear the Duke of Hereford, Earl Derby, appellant, and then the Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, defendant. Then Sir John Bussy opened the proceedings on the part of the King, saying: 'My lords, you know full well that the Duke of Hereford has presented a petition to our sire the King, who is here present in his seat of justice to administer right to those who shall require it this day, as it becomes him and his Royal office.' And three days before was it proclaimed on behalf of the King, that none of the parties, on the one side or the other, should be so daring as to carry arms, on pain of being drawn and hung. And the King caused the parties to be asked if they would not agree and make peace together, saying it would be much better. Accordingly the Constable and the marshal went, by the King's desire, and besought them to make up the matter and be reconciled, and that then the King would pardon all that they had said or done against him or his kingdom. But they both answered that never should peace be made between them. And when the King was told this, he commanded that they should be brought before him, that he might hear what they had to say. Then a herald cried, on the part of the King, that the Duke of Hereford and the Duke of Norfolk should come forward before the King, to tell, each his reason, why they would not make peace together. And

when they were come before the King and his council, the King said to them himself, 'My lords, make matters up; it will be much better.'

" 'Saving your favour, my dear sovereign,' said the Duke of Norfolk, 'it cannot be; my honour is too deeply concerned.'

"Then the King said to the Duke of Hereford, 'Henry, say what it is you would have to say to the Duke of Norfolk, or why you will not be reconciled.'

"The Duke of Hereford had a knight, who, having asked and obtained permission from the King and the council to speak on behalf of the Duke, said, 'Dear and sovereign lord, here is Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford and Earl Derby, who declares, and I also for him, that Thomas Duke of Norfolk has received from you eight hundred thousand nobles to pay your men-at-arms who guard your city of Calais, whom he has not paid as he ought to have done. I say this is great treason, and calculated to cause the loss of your city of Calais; and I also say that he has been at the bottom of all the treasons committed in your kingdom these last eighteen years, and has, by his false counsel and malice, caused to be put to death my dear and beloved uncle the Duke of Gloucester, son of King Edward (whom God absolve!) and who was brother of my dearly-beloved father the Duke of Lancaster. The Duke of Hereford says, and I on his part, that he will prove the truth of this by his body between any sunrise and sunset.'

"Then the King was wroth, and asked the Duke of Hereford if he acknowledged these as his words.

"To which he replied, 'My dear lord, I do; and I also demand of you the right of wager of battle against him.'

Nor. Then, Bolingbroke, as low as to thy heart,
Through the false passage of thy throat, thou liest!
Three parts of that receipt I had for Calais,
Disburs'd I duly to his highness' soldiers:
The other part reserv'd I by consent;
For that my sovereign liege was in my debt,
Upon remainder of a dear account,
Since last I went to France to fetch his queen:
Now swallow down that lie.—For Gloster's death,—
I slew him not; but, to my own disgrace,
For you, my noble lord of Lancaster,
The honourable father to my foe,

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Once did I lay an ambush for your life,
A trespass that doth vex my grieved soul:
But, ere I last receiv'd the sacrament,
I did confess it; and exactly begg'd
Your grace's pardon, and, I hope, I had it.
This is my fault: As for the rest appeal'd,
It issues from the rancour of a villain,
A recreant and most degenerate traitor:
Which in myself I boldly will defend;
And interchangeably hurl down my gage
Upon this overweening traitor's foot,
To prove myself a loyal gentleman
Even in the best blood chamber'd in his bosom,
In haste whereof, most heartily I pray
Your highness to assign our trial day.

K. Rich. Wrath-kindl'd gentlemen, be rul'd by me;
Let's purge this choler without letting blood.—
This we prescribe, though no physician;
Deep malice makes too deep incision:
Forget, forgive; conclude, and be agreed;
Our doctors say, this is no time to bleed.—
Good uncle, let this end where it begun;
We'll calm the duke of Norfolk, you your son.

Gaunt. To be a make-peace shall become my age;
Throw down, my son, the Duke of Norfolk's gage.

K. Rich. And, Norfolk, throw down his.

Gaunt. When, Harry? when?
Obedience bids, I should not bid again.

K. Rich. Norfolk, throw down; we bid; there is no boot.

Nor. Myself, I throw, dread sovereign, at thy foot:
My life thou shalt command, but not my shame.
The one my duty owes; but my fair name
(Despite of death, that lives upon my grave),
To dark dishonour's use thou shalt not have.
I am disgrac'd, impeach'd, and baffled here;
Pierc'd to the soul with slander's venom'd spear;
The which no balm can cure, but his heart-blood,
Which breath'd this poison.

K. Rich. Rage must be withstood:
Give me his gage:—Lions make leopards tame.

Nor. Yea, but not change their spots: take but my shame,
And I resign my gage. My dear, dear lord,
The purest treasure mortal times afford,
Is—spotless reputation; that away,
Men are but gilded loam, or painted clay.

A jewel in a ten-times-barr'd-up chest
Is—a bold spirit in a loyal breast.
Mine honour is my life; both grow in one;
Take honour from me, and my life is done:
Then, dear my liege, mine honour let me try;
In that I live, and for that will I die.

"The two parties were then withdrawn, and the King consulted with his council. Afterwards the two lords were summoned to hear the decision. Again the King desired them to be asked if they would be reconciled or not. They both replied they would not; and the Duke of Hereford threw down his pledge, which the Duke of Norfolk received. Then swore the King by Saint John the Baptist that he would never more endeavour to reconcile those two; and Sir John Bussy, on the part of the King and council, announced that they should have trial of battle at Coventry, on a Monday in the month of August, and that there they should have their day and their lists."

The sequel to this episode, taking place as it did near Coventry, does not rightly concern this work, but the tale is entertainment too good to miss. On Monday the 16th of September the two contestants repaired to the field of honour. There, amid spectacular surroundings and before a huge crowd of nobles and commons, all formalities were duly carried out. Constable and marshal having challenged and having been answered by both men, helmets and armour having been adjusted, lances measured and tested, the signal was given for the trumpets to sound. Then, as Bolingbroke spurred his horse Richard rose abruptly to his feet and threw down his baton. The contest stopped, and the King maliciously announced his decision that the ordeal should proceed no further, since he intended to banish both men. Such was the farcical end of this ignoble affair.

The following year, 1399, Richard proclaimed a forthcoming grand tournament to be held at Windsor, but he had become so unpopular with the majority of his people that the festival was unheeded by most of the nobles, and the feast was "very poorly attended."

Richard was doomed. The crisis, which had been so long brewing, could not much longer be postponed, but blind to all warnings the King decided to visit Ireland. Before his journey

he "took leave of the noble Queen of England at Windsor. King Richard and the Queen of England walked, hand in hand, from the Castle to the lower court, and thence to the Deanery of St. George; where the canons brought St. George's mantle to the King, and the King wore it over his shoulders, as is the custom of the country, and then entered the church. The canons chaunted very sweetly, and the King himself chaunted a collect, and afterwards made his offering; he then took the Queen in his arms, and kissed her twelve or thirteen times, saying sorrowfully, 'Adieu, ma chère, until we meet again; I commend me to you.' Thus spoke the King to the Queen in the presence of all the people; and the Queen began to weep, saying to the King, 'Alas! my lord, will you leave me here?' Upon which the King's eyes filled with tears on the point of weeping, and he said, 'By no means, mamye; but I will go first, and you, ma chère, shall come there afterwards.' Then the King and Queen partook of wine and comfits together at the deanery, and all who chose did the same. Afterwards the King stooped, and took and lifted the Queen from the ground, and held her a long while in his arms, and kissed her at least ten times, saying ever, 'Adieu, ma chère, until we meet again,' and then placed her on the ground and kissed her at least thrice more; and, by our Lady! I never saw so great a lord make so much of, nor shew such great affection to, a lady, as did King Richard to his Queen. Great pity was it that they separated, for never saw they each other more. Afterwards the King embraced all the ladies, and then mounted his horse. There many knights kissed hands on taking their departure, and trumpets sounded, and men-at-arms and archers from every country arrived to serve the noble King Richard, who was careful to ride early and late, until he arrived at Milford, where was a very fine port, with many fine ships. From Milford the King wrote a most affectionate letter to the Queen, commending himself to her many times, for she was ill with grief from losing her lord. The King then commanded the Duke of York to dismiss the Lady de Coucy, as he had before ordered; and then passed in review his men-at-arms and archers, and made his ordinances for provisions and necessaries for the voyage, and gave daily orders to hasten the embarkation; so great was his desire to pass the sea into the country of great Ireland, where his enemies are, who have given him much annoyance, and have done great

damage, as well to him as to his lords, and the people of the kingdom of England."

The King sailed for Ireland on the 29th of May. Five weeks later the banished Bolingbroke landed on the south coast, and as he rode toward London an army gathered around him. When the news reached Ireland Richard immediately returned to England, but even as he landed his courage vanished. Disguised as a monk he fled to Wales.

That closed the reign of King Richard II. Before the end of the year he was deposed, and Bolingbroke, his cousin, ascended the English throne as Henry IV—the first King of the House of Lancaster.



Geoffrey Chaucer.

CHAPTER XI

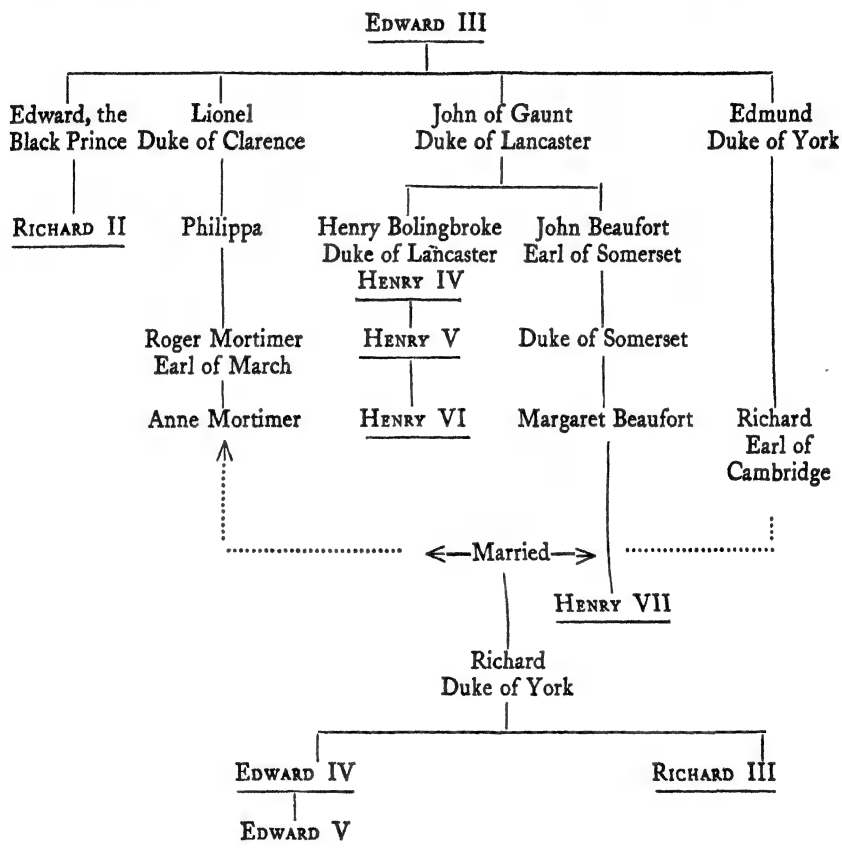
HENRY OF LANCASTER

FOR the next eighty-six years, until the accession of Henry Tudor as Henry VII, the history of England went through many vicissitudes. Times were turbulent, and upon several occasions Windsor Castle became involved in the protracted struggle which took place between the rival houses of Lancaster and York. The more readily to understand the course of events a skeleton genealogy is reproduced on opposite page.

From this it will be seen that, after Richard II, the rightful heir to the throne was not Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster and eldest surviving son of John of Gaunt, but Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. That Bolingbroke was elected King rather than Edmund Mortimer was due to Bolingbroke's personal popularity, particularly with the Londoners, and also, despite contemporary denials to the contrary, by reason of his large following. At this point it must again be emphasized that no man can justly claim the English throne by right of inheritance. Legally a man becomes king only by election of the people, though from earliest times it has been the usual custom of the English people, when electing their king, to choose the nearest heir in the direct line.

In the year 1399 the people did not choose the nearest heir, the Earl of March. They elected Bolingbroke King, and in doing so ultimately plunged the country into yet another civil war. In the meantime, Henry IV soon had cause to realize that he would have to fight if he wished to retain his easily-won crown. As yet, though Richard II had been deposed, he was still alive, and just as much a menace to peace as the infant Earl of March. Henry IV and his family had many enemies, who did not hesitate to uphold, either that Richard II was still King, or that Henry IV was usurping a throne rightfully the Earl of March's.

Henry's ambitions were too strong for him to resist the temptation of achieving power because, in a sense, he did usurp the throne. It would have been equally simple for him to have had the young Earl elected King, but he did not. Now, having cast the dice, he determined to hold the throne at all costs. For this reason his first act upon becoming King was to order the close



confinement of the seven-year-old Earl, Edmund, and his brother, Roger, at Windsor Castle. Richard, too, was kept a prisoner, but in Pontefract Castle.

Before Henry had been on the Throne three months plots to kill him were already being hatched. One of these was planned to take place at Windsor Castle, and it was nearly successful. According to a French chronicler already quoted

details of this plot were arranged on the eighth day before Christmas, when the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, Rutland, Salisbury, Lord de Spenser, and other prominent people were dining in the rooms of the Abbot of Westminster. When dinner was over the six lords retired to an antechamber where, after discussion, it was resolved to surprise King Henry and his sons at a tournament which Henry had commanded to be held at Windsor Castle on the Twelfth Night—or, as the chronicler calls it, “the day of the Three Kings.” A secretary then prepared six documents, which were indented to fit one another, in which each man swore to be faithful to the other members of the conspiracy, and to restore Richard to his throne or die in the attempt, and to these documents the six men foolishly affixed their seals.

The conspiracy proceeded apace. Each of the lords returned to his own county for the purpose of raising men. Some days later, “On the first Sunday of the year, the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Surrey, and the Earl of Salisbury met at Kingston with eight thousand archers and three hundred lances of men at arms, the flower of all England; and, on setting off from Kingston, the lords sent letters to the Duke of Aumale, Earl of Rutland, in London, urging him not to fail to be at Colnbrook on the night of the Kings. The Duke of Aumale was dining, the first Sunday of the year, with his father the Duke of York; and, after he had seated himself at table, he placed the indenture of their confederacy upon the table.

“When the Duke saw it, he demanded: ‘What letter is that?’

“The Earl, taking off his bonnet, replied: ‘My lord, do not be angry, it does not touch you.’

“‘Shew it to me,’ said the Duke to his son, ‘for I will know what it is.’

“Aumale then handed the letter to his father. And when the Duke of York saw the six seals, he read the letter throughout; which done, he said: ‘Saddle the horses directly. Hey! thou traitor thief, thou hast been traitor to King Richard, and wilt thou now be false to thy cousin King Henry? Thou knowest well enough that I am thy pledge-borrow, body for body, and land for goods, in open parliament; and I see plainly thou goest about to seek my destruction. By St. George! I had rather thou shouldst be hung than I.’

“And so the Duke of York mounted on horseback to ride to Windsor to reveal the matter to King Henry, and to show

him the letters which he had taken from his son. The Duke of Aumarle, seeing that his father was gone to King Henry at Windsor, set off himself, and arrived there a good time before his father, who was advanced in years; he then caused the castle gates to be shut, and carried the keys with him to King Henry, before whom he bent the knee, beseeching his forgiveness.

"The King replied: 'Fair cousin, you have done nothing amiss.' Then he [Aumarle] declared unto him [the King] the power of the confederate lords, their names, and the whole of the conspiracy; how he and his sons were to have been seized, and King Richard and his Queen restored, and that he had been a party to the enterprise; for which he begged for mercy and forgiveness.

" 'If this be true,' said Henry, 'we pardon you; but if I find it false, upon our word you shall repent it.'

"Whilst they were talking together, the Duke of York arrived, and presented to the King the indenture he had taken from his son, and, when the King saw the indenture with its six seals, he ordered eight horses to be saddled, for he would go to London presently. The King mounted on horseback, and reached London at nine o'clock at night: on his road he met the mayor with four attendants, hastening to inform him that the lords had taken the field with six thousand followers. A proclamation was immediately issued that all those who were willing to serve their King and the city of London should repair to the council-house, enrol their names, and swear to serve loyally; promising, for fifteen days, eightpence for every lance, and ninepence for every archer. By the morrow morning at eight o'clock, more than sixteen thousand men were enrolled and paid, and ready to follow the King.

"On the day of the Kings, the sixth day of the year thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen, at the hour of noon, King Henry set out from London, to encounter the other lords who were his enemies, with only fifty lances and six thousand archers. When he had reached a fine common a little way out of town, he gave orders to draw up his men, and he waited till three o'clock in the afternoon the arrival of his reinforcements from the city."

Probably Henry was not so surprised at the news of the proposed assassination as the anonymous French chronicler infers, because hostility to the new reign on the part of Richard II's friends had been evident almost from the first. Yet the King cannot have expected action quite so soon for, though making

preparations to spend Christmas at the Castle he had taken no special precautions to ensure his own safety. Indeed the entire Christmastide was a miserable time for him, since he and his family were ill, as a result, possibly, of poisoning.

The King left Windsor and hurriedly set about assembling his small army. Meanwhile the conspirators, at the head of about five hundred horse, made their way to the Castle, and upon their arrival were able to gain an entrance without difficulty (though there is reason to wonder why or how!). As soon as they were within the Castle walls they made for the Royal apartments, where, of course, they failed to find the King. Unable to believe he had escaped, and convinced he was hiding elsewhere within the Castle, they searched the entire place, from north to south, from east to west, not even excepting the houses of the canons and the poor knights. Finally convinced that the King was not in the Castle, they must have realized that their plans had been betrayed, so they hurriedly fled to the west country. Ultimately the leaders were captured and executed. As for the unfortunate man they had sworn to restore to the Throne, he, poor wretch, died mysteriously the next month—some say as violently as did Edward II, but more probably he was starved to death.

Nine months later there was yet another attempt on Henry's life, and again the scene was set at Windsor Castle. This time it seems likely that the would-be murderer was a member of Queen Isabella's household, and the method that of concealing in the King's bed an instrument called a "caltrappe, an iron with three branches so sharp that whenever the King had turned him it should slay him."

With Richard dead Henry probably thought that some of his troubles were over, but the unfortunate King was to find this not to be the case. Though the late King's body was probably exposed so that there should be no doubts about Richard's death, impostors, claiming to be King Richard, were constantly stirring up trouble. Advantage was taken of the appearance of these impostors, also of the existence of the Earl of March, to harry the King. He found himself faced with wars, rebellions, and uprisings.

From the first to the last day, Henry's reign was, for him, a succession of perversities. Surely he must have been one of the unhappiest of monarchs, and yet, withal he was a thoroughly capable and kindly King. He was courageous in warfare,

orthodox in his rule, and devout in his religious beliefs. Above all he was merciful to his enemies. He was a far, far better King than many who have sat on the throne of England, but possibly none have been so badly treated by fate. He suffered even in his person, for though a "beau chevalier" in youth, in later life he was so disfigured by disease that few could bear to look upon his face.

It has probably been observed that, with the exception of repairs to St. George's Chapel, when Chaucer was clerk of the works, little attention was given to the Castle buildings. As a result of this the Castle was, apparently, yet again badly in need of repair, so, on the 25th of January, 1404, the commons represented to Chaucer that "the Castle and other of the King's manors are very ruinous, and in need of great renewal and reparation, and how the profits of them are given to divers persons, and the King bears the charges; and above all the Castle of Windsor, to which there was assigned a certain fund for its reparation, and now the same fund is given to certain persons, and the King bears the charges." In spite of this deplorable state of affairs nothing seems to have been done during the reign of Henry IV.

A year later Windsor was yet again the scene of a plot directed against the King. Among the lords who had planned to break into the Castle and assassinate the King was, as we have seen, Lord de Spenser. For his share in the plot he lost his head at Bristol. For this just execution his widow, Lady de Spenser, seemingly never forgave the King. Undaunted by the fate of her husband she continued his efforts to upset the usurper by planning to liberate the Earl of March and his brother. With the assistance of confederates she laid her plans so well that, about midnight on the night of the 15/16 of February, by means of replica keys she succeeded in gaining access to the apartments which Edmund and Roger occupied. She awakened them and bade them dress. She then led them out of the Castle, and once outside fled in the direction of Wales where, at that time Owen Glendower was carrying on a successful guerilla warfare against the English.

The escape was a courageous, well-conceived plan, and there seems little reason why it should not have been successful. Yet it was not. The escape was discovered, the alarm given. The fugitives were pursued and quickly retaken prisoners.

It is hard to understand how this came about. If *The Chronicle of London* is to be believed, the escape took place "aboughte

mydnyght." If so, there was probably no reason why the escape should have been discovered much before daybreak. But even granted that the flight of the prisoners was discovered within an hour or so, how were they so quickly retaken? Were there sufficient pursuers to hurry along every road leading away from the district of Windsor Castle? Or was Lady de Spenser betrayed? Did an accomplice in the Castle suddenly fear for his own skin, and give the warning, at the same time betraying the intended route of escape? Probably this will never be known. Still, neither Lady de Spenser, nor her brother the Duke of York (who was also implicated), appear to have suffered very serious consequences from the miscarriage of their plans. The chief sufferer was the unfortunate blacksmith who made the false keys. He lost first his hands and then his head.

From this occurrence until the death of Henry IV in 1413, there is nothing further to report in connection with the Castle except that St. George's Feast was held there in 1406, but nothing of particular interest happened upon that occasion. Henry subsequently stayed at Windsor several times but not, apparently, at the Castle, for his official papers thereafter are dated from his manor in Windsor Park. Chiefly the Castle was used as a prison, housing many Welsh and Scottish prisoners.

During the next few years Henry fought victoriously with rebellious subjects in the north of England, and in Wales, and later, less successfully, with his own ill-health. Toward the end of his reign he rarely left the neighbourhood of London, and much of his time he spent in his favourite palace at Eltham. And so, early in 1413, he died, leaving a tolerably peaceful but troubled kingdom to his eldest son Henry, Prince of Wales, who ascended the throne as Henry V.

Henry V was a son of Henry IV by that King's first wife, Mary de Bohun. Henry V's early life scarcely is part of this work, but it is interesting to note, firstly, that he was such a favourite with Richard II that, when his father was banished from the country after the mockery of the ordeal by battle described in the previous chapter, Henry V remained with Richard, who knighted him. The second feature of Henry's life before he became King was the quarrel between father and son. It is of no significance except once more to prove that, throughout English history, the instances have been few when the

King and the Prince of Wales have not been antagonistic to each other.

As a youth Henry V's reputation was not particularly savoury. According to one who knew him well he was "an assiduous cultor of lasciviousness, and addicted exceedingly to instruments of music. Passing the bonds of modesty, he was the servant of Venus as well as of Mars; youthlike, he was fired with her torches, and in the midst of the worthy works of war found leisure for the excesses common to ungoverned age."

But

The breath no sooner left his father's body
But that his wildness, mortified in him,
Seem'd to die too: yea, at that very moment,
Consideration like an angel came,
And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him;
Leaving his body as a paradise,
To envelop and contain celestial spirits.
Never was such a sudden scholar made:
Never came reformation in a flood,
With such a heady current, scouring faults;
Nor never Hydra-headed wilfulness
So soon did lose his seat, and all at once,
As in this king.

Shakespeare cannot be relied upon to keep strictly within the compass of historical fact, but in this instance the sentiments which he puts into the mouth of the Archbishop of Canterbury are by no means overdrawn. As Walsingham confirms: "As soon as he (Henry) was made King he was changed suddenly into another man, zealous for honesty, modesty, and gravity; there being no sort of virtue that he was not anxious to display."

This sudden change in character was doubtless responsible for Henry's making one of his first acts the release of Edmund, the Earl of March, from confinement at Windsor Castle. Edmund was then living a more lonely life than ever, for his younger brother Roger had died while still in captivity at the Castle. Before leaving Edmund, who ceases to be of further interest to us, it is interesting to note that, while still a captive, the Earl of March fell in love with Lady Anne Stafford, who was then in attendance on Henry IV's second wife, Queen Joan of Navarre. As soon as Edmund was released he became the Lady Anne's husband.

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This romance naturally suggests a second, more famous romance, which occurred at the Castle in the reign of Henry V. Mention has been made of the war between England and Scotland which had been carried on in the reign of Henry IV. A truce between the two countries was declared in 1404, but notwithstanding this, before Easter the following year an English cruiser captured a Scottish ship which was conveying James, son and heir of the King of Scotland, to France, and took James a prisoner. During the next few years he was shifted from prison to prison, but in the August of 1413 he was transferred to Windsor where he remained for the next eleven years, during which time his father died, and James became the King of Scotland. Notwithstanding this fact—or possibly because of this fact—James remained a captive, though his imprisonment does not appear to have been particularly severe upon him, for he was present at the coronation of Queen Katherine at Westminster.

James was lodged in a tower in the south-east of the Round Tower, known by various names as the Maiden's Tower, the Maids of Honour's Tower, the Devil's Tower (is there unconscious humour in the Maiden's Tower being known as the Devil's Tower?) and before that as the Earl Marshal's Tower. Here, in the rooms which he occupied, James spent the passing years in study, writing verse, and in falling passionately in love with Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and half-niece to the King. Specially did he read and appreciate the poems of Chaucer and Gower, and soon this King, who wrote of himself:

The kid, the beast, the fish eke in the sea,
They live in freedom, everich in his kind:
And I a man, and lacketh liberty!

was himself emulating the example of the poets. In this poem, "The King's Quair," or in English, "The King's Book," James reveals not only his own emotions toward life in general, and Jane in particular:

Her golden hair and rich attire,
In fretwise couched with pearly white,
And great balls levening as the fire,
With many an emerald and fair saphire;
And on her head a chaplet fresh of hue
Of plumis parted red, and white and blue,

but also reveals something of the Castle as it then was:

Now was there made, fast by the Tower's wall,
A garden fair, and in the corners set,
An arbour green, with wandle long and small,
Railed about, and so with trees set
Was all the place, an hawthorn hedges knet,
That life was none, walking there forbye,
That might within scarce any wight espy.

So thick the boughs, and the leaves green,
Beshaded all the alleys that there were,
And midst every arbour might be seen
The sharp green sweet juniper,
Growing so fair, with branches here and there,
That, as it seemed to a life without,
The boughs spread the arbour all about.

And on the small green twigs sat
The little sweet nightingale, and sang
So loud and clear the hymns concecate
Of love's use, now soft, now loud among,
That all the gardens and the walls rang
Enriched of their song.

Even allowing for, first, poet's licence, and secondly, a lover's prejudiced eyes for the loveliness of any surroundings wherein his sweet love walked, Windsor Castle is beginning to sound a rather more beautiful place than we have hitherto imagined it to be. Certainly there have been references to kitchen gardens and herb gardens, but such references have quite failed to present to us the same picture of quiet charm as does the King of Scotland's poem.

While the King of Scotland was languishing behind prison bars, and sighing for Jane's kisses, the King of England was first engaged in suppressing the Lollard movement, now rapidly gaining strength, and, secondly, in pursuing the inevitable war against France. In connection with the Lollard movement, one Sir John Oldcastle became its leader. Oldcastle had previously been an intimate companion of Henry's. For this reason, the convocation of the clergy, instead of summoning him before the customary tribunal, first denounced him to the King. Out of regard for his old friend Henry determined to convert Sir John

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back to the old faith. Oldcastle was ordered to present himself at Windsor, whereupon "with the zeal of an apostle (Henry) undertook the task of working his conversion. But the obstinacy of the disciple speedily exhausted the patience of the master: after a few days the King began to enforce his arguments with threats, and Oldcastle thought it time to withdraw from Windsor to his own residence at Cowling." Oldcastle was eventually arrested, but he later escaped from the Tower.

Henry had more success against the French than against the Lollard leader. In August, 1415, he crossed the Channel with an army of about thirty thousand men with a view to seizing Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Ponthieu of which he had previously claimed full sovereignty. He landed at Harfleur, and after the capture of Graville, began to march his army—reduced, for different reasons, to half its original number—towards Calais. This was on the 8th of October. For the next two weeks or so the English and French armies faithfully fulfilled the mediæval rule of war by deliberately avoiding each other as long as possible, but on the 25th a battle became inevitable. On that day was fought the famous battle of Agincourt, when once more a comparatively small number of Englishmen, by the superiority of their archery, gained an overwhelming victory over a far bigger continental army. After the battle many of the French nobles who had been taken prisoners were killed in the mistaken belief that French reinforcements were approaching, but of those who were fortunate enough to escape this unpleasant fate many were sent, pending the payment of their ransom money, as prisoners of war to Windsor Castle. Among these nobles were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon.

In 1416 Henry held the Feast of St. George at Windsor Castle. This occasion was the most spectacular gathering that had been held for many years past—probably it was more magnificent than any since the time of Edward III. Among the guests invited was Henry's cousin, the Emperor Sigismund of Germany, who was made a Companion of the Garter. So numerous were the guests invited to the Feast—not a few of them followed in the German Emperor's train—that Henry found himself in a quandary as to where everyone should sleep. Hence it became necessary for him to write to the Dean and Chapter of St. George:

"By the King, Our well-beloved, we greet you well, because

of the great multitude of people, strangers and others, that shall be in our Castle Royal of Windsor this next solemnity the feast of Saint George, for the coming of the Emperor and the Duke of Holland, we desiring and willing that this many and all other estates of our company may have favour, help, and succour as much as may be for their lodging in our said castle; wherefore now we send our well-beloved esquire and bailiff of our chamber, the bearer of this, into our said Castle, for to provide and ordain against our coming. Therefore we desire you that ye will suffer our said bailiff to oversee your lodgings and mansions of our college, and for to lodge and receive as many persons as may be honestly and only for this time. And if ye so do, ye do unto us a singular pleasure; and it is not our mind or intent that by colour of the same to put you hereafter in any further charge. And thus fare you well. Given under our signet . . . etc. . . ."

It is hardly to be expected that the canons were pleased at being so politely, but nevertheless firmly, turned out of their comfortable lodgings so that room might be made for the horde of German adventurers who flocked into Windsor Castle, but the worthy canons' sacrifice was not without its reward. When Sigismund arrived at the Castle he had with him a relic for the chapel of St. George which was nothing less than the alleged heart of St. George. During a most imposing ceremony the relic was deposited in the chapel where it was preserved until the time of Henry VIII.

From 1417 to the beginning of 1421 Henry was in France, once more making the English feared throughout the western part of the Continent. During that time he met Katherine of France, with whom he probably became enamoured. "By mine honour, in true English, I love thee, Kate." His wooing was successful. Henry and Katherine were married on the 2nd of June, 1420, and they returned to England on the 3rd of February. From Dover, where they landed, they may have proceeded direct to Windsor, though there is no entry in the Rolls of Accounts to confirm that visit. Yet it is not unreasonable to believe that they were there before the coronation of the Queen, which took place in London on the 24th of February, for Queen Katherine appears to have formed a liking for James of Scotland, and it was very possibly due to her influence that he was allowed to attend the ceremony; where he sat on her left hand. It is a

further significant fact that, a few months later, James was knighted at Windsor, and released from his imprisonment. Indeed, whether or no she worked actively on his behalf, James had every reason to look upon Queen Katherine as his good fairy, for when he returned to Scotland, in 1424, he took with him as bride his beloved Lady Jane. A fairy story come true!

That year, 1421, was an important one in the history of the Castle, for on the 6th of December Katherine bore Henry's first child, a boy. In connection with this birth there is an anecdote—in which later historians refuse to place implicit faith—that Henry, before going abroad, had given strict injunctions to his wife that she should have her child anywhere but at the Castle; this because of the alleged prophecy that "Henry of Windsor shall lose all that Henry of Monmouth had gained." Why historians, who do not hesitate to give credence to other prophecies, should disregard this one it is a little difficult to understand.

With the story of the birth of Henry's first-born the story of Windsor Castle in the reign of Henry V comes to a finish. Not long after the solemnization of the purification of the Queen which took place at Windsor, Katherine left there to join her husband in France, leaving the infant Henry at the Castle. Unhappily Katherine was with her husband for two months only, for Henry, whose health had long been failing him, died on the 31st of August, after reigning gloriously for nine years.



Fifteenth-century arms.

CHAPTER XII

HENRY THE SAINT

BETWEEN them Henry IV and Henry V reigned twenty-three years. Henry V's son, Henry, who ascended the throne as Henry VI, reigned thirty-nine years, that is, very nearly twice the total years of the previous two reigns. Despite this disparity less of real interest happened at the Castle during those thirty-nine years than during either of the past reigns. The history of the Castle during this reign is made up of trivialities concerning which very little time need be wasted.

Henry was still a babe when he became King of England—and as has happened in every case where a young boy has ascended the Throne and regents have ruled the country until the King's majority, Henry's reign proved an unfortunate one for his country. Regents may begin by meaning well, but they are rarely strong enough to resist the impulse to make the most of their power while they can, and in the process the young King's judgment becomes sadly warped.

The first event worth recording did not occur until the eighth year of Henry's reign, when the old dispute between the canons and the poor knights of St. George's College broke out anew. Despite the commands which had been given to the then dean to pay promptly and in full the poor knights' daily stipend, the present holder of that office was still withholding the knights' money on some pretence or other. As before, the knights complained with no uncertain voice, so the matter was investigated by the Archbishop of York who quickly issued an injunction calling upon the treasurer of the college to pay immediately all arrears—significantly—"free of charge." Further, the Archbishop directed that if the offence were continued he, the treasurer, would be penalized by losing his own "quotidians," which would then be divided among the poor knights. In

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consequence of this threat it is not surprising to learn that the poor knights had no reason to lodge a fresh complaint.

During the next few years the only interesting people to visit the Castle were sent there as prisoners; Margery Jourdain, the witch of Eye, and John Asshewell were both there, charged with sorcery, and later they were joined by another priest, John Virley, who had also been dabbling in the Black Arts. Another prisoner there was a David Gogh, but his was a political offence since he had been responsible for raising an insurrection in South Wales. Another political prisoner who only just escaped being sent to Windsor was John Payn, esquire in the service of the famous Sir John Falstolf, who wrote complainingly that the authorities "would have made me to have peached my Master Falstolf of Treason, and because that I would not, they had me up to Westminster, and there would have sent me to the Gole house at Windsor, but my wife's cousin and one of mine own that were women of the Crown they went to the King and got grace and one charter of pardon."

During these years Henry had been growing up to manhood, until, in 1445, he married Margaret of Anjou. Jeanne d'Arc had been leading French troops to victory, the English cause in France had become hopeless, and the men of Kent, under the leadership of Jack Cade, had unsuccessfully risen against the King's rapacious ministers. Henry was still liked personally, but he was proving himself to be less a king capable of controlling his powerful lords, and more a spineless creature without any understanding of the value of money; one who was more keen to spend his time in pious meditation and the endowing of religious colleges than in ruling the country with a firm, wise hand. Grandson of a mad French king, there is very little doubt but that some strain of his grandfather's malady had been passed on to the unfortunate Henry VI.

This residue of Charles VI's malady was responsible for Henry's losing his mental and bodily powers. This was in July, 1453, when he was at Clarendon. On the 6th of the month the King was smitten with an illness which prevented his walking, moving, or even standing erect. At the same time he lost his reason and his memory, and become, temporarily, a hopeless idiot. From Clarendon he was taken to Windsor, where he remained until his recovery, at the end of the following year.

While the unfortunate man was thus lying helpless at Windsor

his wife, in Westminster, gave birth to a son, Edward. In January the Queen, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, took her three-months'-old child to Windsor in the hope that sight of it might help to restore its father's sanity. An account of this visit is contained in the following letter:

As touching tidings, please it you to know, that at the Prince's coming to Windsor, the Duke of Buckingham took him in his arms and presented him to the King in godely wise, beseeching the King to bless him; and the King gave no manner [of] answer. Nevertheless, the Duke abode still with the Prince by the King; and when he could no manner [of] answer have, the Queen came in, and took the Prince in her arms, and presented him in like form as the Duke had done, desiring that he should bless it; but all their labour was in vain, for they departed thence without any answer or countenance, saying only that once he looked on the Prince, and cast down his eyes again, without any more.

Item: The Cardinal hath charged and commanded all his servants to be ready with bows and arrows, sword and buckler, cross-bows and all habiliments of war, such as they can meddle with, to await upon the safeguard of his person.

Item: Tresham, Joseph, Danyelle, and Trevilian have made a bill to the lords, desiring to have a garrison kept at Windsor, for the safeguard of the King and of the Prince, and that they may have money for wages of them and others, that shall keep the garrison.

By the end of that year Henry was so far recovered that, at last, he was able to understand that he was a father. Prince Edward was brought before him, so the King asked the boy's name. Upon being informed it was Edward, he held up his hands and thanked God. Then he said: "He never knew till that time, nor wist not, what was said to him, nor wist not where he had be, whilst he had been sick till now."

Henry's improvement in health did not last long. Later he had a relapse. He recovered again, and had a further relapse. During these years the Yorkist element gained strength. With Henry too weak to keep them in check war between the Houses of Lancaster and York broke out. The result is a matter of history. Henry was taken prisoner and lodged in the Tower while Edward of York reigned in his stead as

Edward IV. For five years Henry remained in the Tower, "not so worshipfully arrayed nor so cleanly kept as should seem such a Prince." He seems not to have worried overmuch about the loss of his regal status, asking no more of life than that he should be allowed to enjoy the sacraments of the Church.

Then suddenly he became King once more. Warwick, "the Kingmaker," "The Last of the Barons," quarrelled with Edward, and Edward had to flee the country. Henry VI was restored to the Throne, but he only retained it for six months. Edward returned to England, and Henry's protector, Warwick, was slain at the battle of Barnet, when fog helped to conquer that grand, heroic fighter. Henry went back to the Tower, there to be murdered before the month was out.

So ended poor Henry VI, a scholar and recluse made King by accident of birth. During his reign little happened at Windsor Castle, which gradually decayed for lack of repairs. Yet, just across the river, arose a new foundation, for which Henry was responsible—Eton College, originally instituted for the accommodation of twenty-five poor grammar scholars, and twenty-five poor men to pray for the King. Eton and Cambridge—for those two foundations alone England must eternally keep green the memory of the unfortunate Henry—or perhaps not!

The accession of Edward IV was a triumph of the Yorkists over the Lancastrians, but Edward was not, for that reason, a usurper. On the contrary, with him the legitimate line was restored for, as will be seen from the genealogy reproduced elsewhere, Edward was directly descended from Edward III's third son, Lionel. Moreover, he had a double title to the Throne for he was also descended from Edward III's fifth son, Edmund.

Edward IV lived and reigned in a changing world. Mediævalism was passing, the Renaissance was approaching. The King's power was still as great as ever, but that of the nobles was rapidly vanishing. The commons, ultimately to conquer all, were slowly becoming a force in the land.

Edward was only nineteen when he first ascended the Throne, and he was a thorough favourite with the Londoners. Not only was he a brilliant and valiant warrior, but his appearance was a great asset in his popularity with the people, for besides being tall and well built, he was one of the handsomest men of his age. He was more democratic than any monarch before him,

for he delighted in mingling with his subjects, joining with them in their sports, and seducing their wives—whose love, we are told, he never gained by using his Royal prerogative! His success in his numerous amatory affairs was due because, to all ladies, he “applied a general courtship, which, used by a prince of so amiable a personage, made them, usually the idols of others, idolators of him.” So beloved was the King who was “so well tuned for love intrigues as any prince I ever saw in my life,” that “where other kings in other countries would have lost their crowns for being too great with the wives of their subjects, here is one who recovered it by that very means.”

The first few years of this reign have little connection with Windsor, but after the death of Henry VI, in 1471, Edward turned his attention toward the Castle. In September, 1472, Windsor became once more the scene of festivities for, in that month, the King was there to receive as a guest of honour one Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, who, a short time previously, had done Edward a great service.

A long description of this festival, written apparently by a herald who was present as an eyewitness, is to be found in Additional MSS. at the British Museum, and also in Sir F. Madden's *Archæologia*. After describing how “The Lorde Grauthuse” was honourably received by the Sheriffs of London, given “an honnerable and a plentuous dynner,” and escorted by them to the Crane in the Vintry, the aforesaid Lorde Grauthuse later “rode to Windsor, to the King, accompanied also with the aforesaide two esquires, Master Morris Arnold, and Master John Henyllys, with order. And when he come into the Castle, into the quadrant, my Lord Hastings, Chamberlain to the King, Sir John A'Parre, Sir John Don, with divers other lords and nobles, received him to the King.

“The King did to be apparelled on the far side of the quadrant, three chambers richly hanged with cloths of Arras, and with Beds of State, and when he had spoken with the King's grace, and the Queen, he was accompanied to his chamber by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir John Parre, with divers more, which supped with him in his chamber; also there supped with him his Servants. When they had supped, my Lord Chamberlain had him again to the King's chamber. Then incontinent the King had him to the Queen's chamber, where she had there her ladies playing at the morteaulex (*Marteaux*) and some of her

ladies and gentlewomen at the closheys (Closheys) of ivory, and Dancing, and some at divers other games, according; the which sight was full pleasant to them. Also the King danced with my lady Elizabeth, his eldest daughter. That done, the night passed over, they went to his chamber. The Lord Grauthuse took leave, and my Lord Chamberlain, with divers nobles, accompanied him to his chamber, where they departed for that night. And in the morning, when Matins was done, the King heard in his own chapel Our Lady's mass, which was melodiously sung, the Lord Grauthuse being there present. When the mass was done, the King gave the said Lord Grauthuse a Cup of Gold, garnished with Pearl. In the midst of the Cup is a great Piece of an Unicorn's horn, to my estimation three inches compass. And on the cover was a great Sapphire. Then he went to his chamber, where he had his breakfast. And when he had broken his fast, the King came in to the quadrant. My lord Prince, also, borne by his Chamberlain, called Master Vaughan, which bade the aforesaid Lord Grauthuse welcome. Then the King had him and all his Company into the little Park, where he made him to have great Sport. And there the King made him ride on his own horse, on a right fair hobby, the which the King gave him. Item, there in the Park, the King gave him a royal Crossbow, the string of Silk, the case covered with velvet of the King's colours, and his Arms and Badges thereupon. Also the heads of quarrels were gilt. The King's dinner was ordained in the lodge, which before dinner they killed no game, saving a doe; the which the King gave to the Servants of the aforesaid Lord Grauthuse. And when the King had dined, they went on ahunting again. And by the Castle were found certain deer lying; some with greyhounds, and some run to death with Buck hounds. There were slain half a dozen Bucks, the which the King gave to the said Lord Grauthuse. By that time it was near night, yet the King shewed him his garden, and Vineyard of Pleasure, and so turned into the Castle again, where they heard evensong in their chambers.

"The Queen did to be ordained a great Banquet in her own chamber. At the which Banquet were the King, the Queen, my lady Elizabeth the King's eldest daughter, the Duchess of Exeter, the Lady Rivers, and the Lord Grauthuse, sitting at one mess, and at the same table sat the Duke of Buckingham, My lady his wife, with divers other Ladies, My Lord Hastings, Chamberlain to the King, My Lord Barnes, Chamberlain to the Queen, the

Son of the aforesaid Lord Grauthuse, Master George Bartte, Secretary to the Duke of Burgoyne, Loys Stacy, usher to the Duke of Burgoyne, and George Mytteney; also certain nobles of the King's own court. Item, there was a side table, at the which sat a great View of ladies, all on the one side. Also in the other chamber sat the Queen's gentlewomen, all on one side. And on the other side of the table, over against them, as many of the Lord Grauthuse' Servants, as touching to the abundant welfare, like as it is according to such a Banquet. And when they had supped, my lady Elizabeth, the King's eldest daughter, danced with the Duke of Buckingham, and divers other ladies also. Then, about nine of the clock, the King and the Queen, with her ladies and gentlewomen, brought the said Lord Grauthuse to three Chambers of Pleasance, all hanged with white Silk and linen cloth, and all the Floors covered with carpets. There was ordained a Bed for himself, of as good down as could be gotten, the Sheets of Rennes, also fine Fustians; the Counterpoint cloth of gold, furred with ermine, the Tester and the (Celer) also shining cloth of gold, the Curtains of white Sarsenette; as for his head Suit and Pillows, they were of the Queen's own Ordinance. Item, in the second chamber was another of state, the which was all white. Also in the same chamber was made a Couch with Feather beds, hung with a Tent, knit like a net, and there was a Cupboard. Item, in the third chamber was ordained a Bath or two, which were covered with Tents of white cloth. And when the King and the Queen, with all her ladies and gentlewomen, had shewed him these chambers, they turned again to their own chambers, and left the said Lord Grauthuse there, accompanied with my Lord Chamberlain, which dispoiled him, and went both together to the Bath. Also there was Sir John A'Parre, John Grauthuse, son to the aforesaid lord, Master George Bartte, Secretary to the Duke of Burgoyne, George Mytteney, and these Servants that were belonging to their chambers. And when they had been in their Baths as long as was their Pleasure, they had green ginger, divers syrups, Comfits, and Hipocras, and then they went to bed. And on the Morn he took his Cup of the King and the Queen, and turned to Westminster again, accompanied with certain knights, esquires, and other the King's Servants, home to his Lodging. And on Saint Edward's day openly in the parliament chamber was created Earl of Winchester."

THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

In the meantime Eton College had narrowly escaped being suppressed. Partly because he wanted to appropriate the College revenues to his own purposes, and partly because the proximity of a Lancastrian foundation to the Castle was a source of annoyance to him, Edward took steps to further this sorry scheme of his. In 1463 he made representations to the Pope, saying that Eton Church was barely begun, and could be of little or no use along the lines originally intended. In these circumstances he prayed the Pope to grant a bull, dissolving Eton College, and merging it with the College of St. George at Windsor. This bull was readily granted by Pius II, and the spoliation of Eton College commenced, for, says Lombarde: "King Edward the Fourth . . . took from those foundations of his competitor, King Henry the Sixth . . . so much yearly revenue as amounted almost to a thousand pounds, and bestowed it upon canons, vicars, singing-men, organists, and choristers at Windsor." Ornaments and bells were also annexed to Windsor.

Some years later Edward changed his mind about Eton—and tradition maintains that this new decision was brought about by the softening influence of his fascinating mistress, Jane Shore—and in 1470 the King petitioned the Pope—by then Paul II—to dissolve the union between the two colleges. The Pope then instructed the Archbishop of Canterbury to investigate the matter. That prelate did so and pronounced judgment—six years later—that Eton College should be dissolved from the College of St. George, and should suffer no further molestation, under pain of excommunication.

In consequence of this judgment Edward decided to build a college at Windsor Castle which should rival that across the river, so, in 1473 he issued letters patent appointing the Bishop of Salisbury master and surveyor of works, both of the chapel of the Blessed Mary and St. George within the Castle of Windsor, and of other works.

Despite these letters patent nothing seems to have been done in the matter of the new building until the year 1475, when, on the 12th of June, fresh letters patent were issued, which St. John Hope has translated as follows:

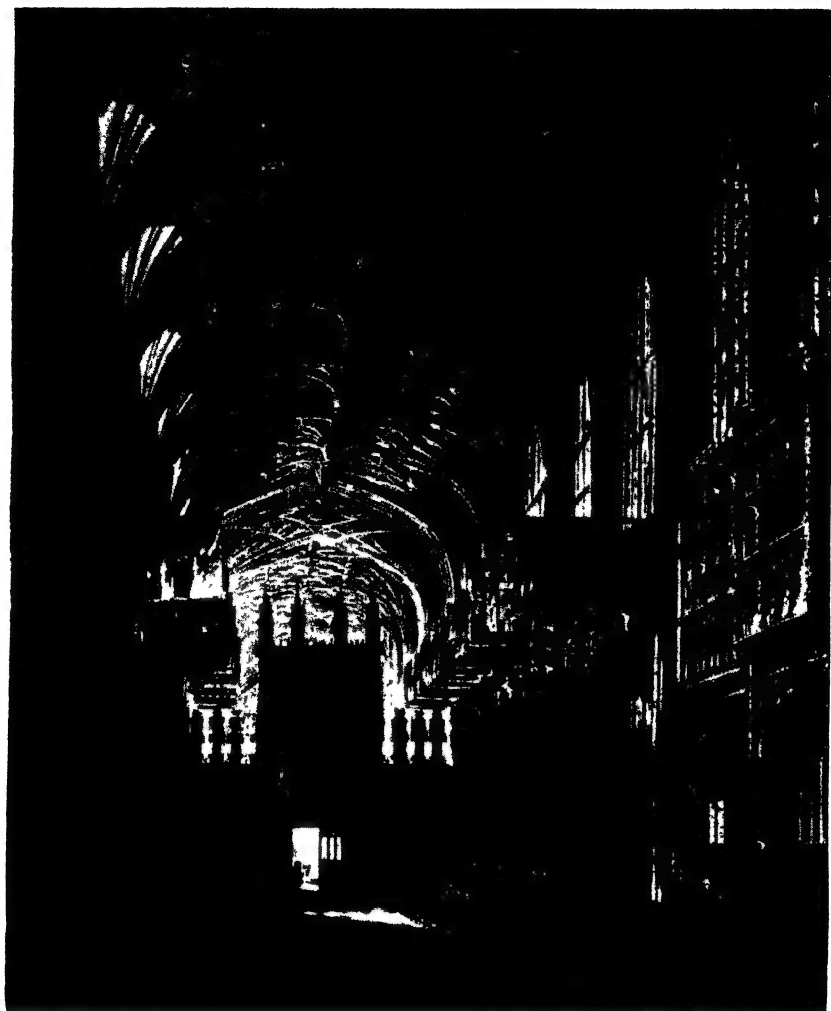
"The King to the venerable father in Christ Richard bishop of Salisbury, our cousin, greeting. Because we have in mind and by God's help resolve to build and construct a



From Pyne's Royal Residences

Interior of St. George's Chapel, shewing the altar. Observe the banners of the Knights of the Garter above their respective stalls

(Circa 1829)



From Pyne's Royal Residences

Another view of the interior of St. George's Chapel

new chapel in honour of the Blessed Mary and Saint George the martyr within our Castle of Windsor, of which building and construction both about the chapel aforesaid and divers other of our works to be newly constructed there we have constituted and appointed you master and overseer by other of our letters patents; and since we see that some of the buildings on our ground there are old and too worn by age, and also that walls, partitions, and houses of divers offices are in the way of the aforesaid building and construction, and inordinately and obstructively oppose themselves, so that we cannot conveniently fulfil our intention: Willing therefore that every impediment and obstacle of our intention be utterly removed and that the said edifices, walls, partitions, and houses of office of whatsoever kind whatever standing in the way of the said building and construction, and inordinately opposing themselves, as is aforesaid, on our ground be taken away, from the west part of the chapel anciently built there to the walls of our said Castle, both to and upon the walls on the north side, and on the west in which the towers commonly called *Cluer ys Towre* and *le Amener is Towre* and *Barner is Towre* are situated, and also on the south as far as the belfry there exclusively, to you of whose fidelity, circumspection, diligence, and experience we have ample assurance, we specially and of our certain knowledge commit, intrust, and grant all power and full authority by these presents of casting down, overthrowing, destroying, and utterly demolishing, without any impeachment, impediment, or cavil of us or our heirs or of any of our workmen whatsoever, and of removing, taking away, carrying out, and leading away and causing to be removed and taken away, and carried out and led away from our ground aforesaid, all and every the materials of the same buildings, walls, partitions, and houses of office, as is aforesaid, cast down, overthrown, destroyed, or utterly demolished, or of the timber or tiles, boards, ironwork, stones, or of any other thing whatsoever it may be, or known by any other name, and of using the same for other buildings according to our will within our same Castle and according to your discretion as may seem best to you, both of disposing of the ground, buildings, walls, partitions, and houses of office, and of the towers aforesaid, and of every material whatsoever without rendering any account thereof to us or our heirs in

future, and of doing and ordaining those and other things whatsoever necessary on this part and about the premises at our charges. In witness thereof, etc. The King being witness at Canterbury the 12th day of June.

By writ of privy seal, etc."

Work commenced almost immediately, and in the course of time a stately building grew up, which still stands as a monument of an age when the civilized world was re-discovering the beauties of art and learning. It has, of course, been renovated recently, but since it is still standing and is open to anyone who wishes to inspect it, no further description is necessary.

In 1476 Edward celebrated the Feast of St. George at the Castle. This ceremony has been adequately described by Stow, but since it does not vary in essentials from other such descriptions already quoted, there would be little point in including it here.

From the anecdotal point of view little more of genuine interest occurred at the Castle during the reign of Edward IV, except, perhaps, the old, old quarrel between the dean and canons, and the poor knights. This once more flared up until reconciliation could no longer be effected between the parties concerned. The result of this last crisis was a particularly unfortunate one for the poor knights. The dean and canons—with that extraordinary aptitude for casuistry possessed by many churchmen of mediæval days—succeeded in having a clause inserted in the King's charter to the college (22 Edw. IV) that the said dean and canons should forever after be wholly quit and discharged from all charge of the poor knights. By this enactment the poor knights became poorer than ever.

In these pages Edward IV's reign has passed rapidly, yet in reality probably his was a comparatively full life. In comparison with all the Kings who preceded him Edward would seem to have been a queer fellow, and quite out of place—nearly two hundred years before his time. He should have followed the Tudors, not preceded them. He was far less a monarch than his forefathers, and far more a philanderer. He was almost a Charles II in fact, except upon those occasions when it became necessary for him to assert his authority. At such times, when he was directing his troops in battle, he was unmistakably of the same blood as the victors of Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt.

For the most part, however, Edward preferred to avoid trouble—even to accepting a bribe from the French King (as did Charles II). Give him a day's sport to warm his blood, a cup of wine to warm his stomach, and a wench's kiss to warm his passions, and he asked little more of life.

He died at Westminster, on the 9th of April, 1483—but for once the death of the King does not bring his chapter to a conclusion for Edward left behind him a will, parts of which relate directly to Windsor Castle. The will, made in 1475, begins:

"In the name of the most holy and blessed Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, by and under whom all Kings and Princes reign. We, Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, remembering inwardly that we, as other creatures in this world, be transitory and have none abiding therein certain, considering also that we be now upon our journey and in taking our passage, by God's sufferance and assistance, toward our Realm of France. . . .

"First we bequeath [our soul] to Almighty God, and to his glorious Mother our Lady Saint Mary, Saint George, Saint Edward, and all the holy Company of heaven, and our body to be buried in the Church of the College of Saint George within our Castle of Windsor, by us begun of new to be builded, in the place of the same Church by us limited and appointed and declared to the Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well beloved the Bishop of Sarum, where we will our body be buried low in the ground, and upon the same a stone be laid and wrought with the figure of Death, with escutcheon of our Armour and writings convenient about the borders of the same, remembering the day and year of our decease, and that in the same place or near to it an Altar be made meetly for the room, as hereafter we shall devise and declare.

"Item, we will that over the same Sepulchre there be made a vault of convenient height as the place will suffer it, and that upon the said vault there be a Chapel or a Closet with an Altar convenient, and a Tomb to be made and set there, and upon the same tomb an Image for our figure, which figure we will be of silver and gilt, or at the least copper and gilt, and

about the same tomb scripture made convenient, remembering the day and year of our decease.

"Item, we will that near to our said Sepulchre there be ordained places for thirteen persons to sit and kneel in, to say and keep such observance, divine service, and prayers as we hereafter shall express and declare."

The terms of Edward's will were faithfully observed. The body of the King was conveyed from Westminster to Windsor on the 14th of April, 1483, and there laid to rest at the north side of the altar. Two months later Lord Hastings, Edward's favourite, loyal friend and Chamberlain, was beheaded by Richard of Gloucester, who was then Protector, later to become King Richard III. Hastings, too, had made a will by which he bequeathed his body to be laid at rest in St. George's Chapel, and bequeathing to the dean and canons a jewel of gold or silver to the value of £20, and a further annual sum of £20 for a priest to say daily mass and divine service, and to pray daily for the King's prosperous estate during his life, and for his soul after death, as also for the souls of Lord Hastings himself, his wife, and all Christian souls.

Lord Hastings' body was duly taken to Windsor and buried beside the tomb of Edward IV. In later years his widow and his son erected and endowed a small chapel which is now familiarly known as the Hastings Chapel.

Upon the death of Edward IV, his son Edward, then thirteen years of age, ascended the throne as Edward V, but as his reign lasted only two months, during which time his uncle Richard caused himself to be proclaimed as Lord Protector, the short-lived reign of Edward V is of no interest to us, and so we must pass on to the next reign, that of Richard III.

CHAPTER XIII

RICHARD CROOKBACK

RICHARD III reigned only two years. In that time he visited Windsor Castle upon several occasions, but did nothing of sufficient consequence to be worth noting in these pages. Indeed, except for one occurrence, Richard's reign could be dismissed with very few words. Fortunately so, perhaps, for in the light of modern research, how would one attempt to describe the character of this most mysterious of all English Kings.

Richard III! Martyr or Monster? Saint or Sinner? Was he indeed that "subtle, false, and treacherous" king of Shakespeare, that king "whose monstrous birth foreshowed his monstrous proceedings."¹ Or was he, on the contrary, one of whom "there was nothing mean or sordid in his nature; he was liberal, open-handed and generous,"² or of whom "there is not a single authentic act of Richard's that does not prove him upright and just and noble and brave."³

No king has been more vilified, no king more ardently defended. There appears to be no compromise. If you are an admirer of the Tudors, then Richard was a wretched, crooked monster who murdered not only Edward V and his brother, but also Henry VI. If you abhor the Tudor "tyrants" then Gloucester is a chivalrous knight who was a generous patriot, and a wise law-giver. You are black or you are white. You cannot be grey. Even his act of causing the body of Henry VI to be removed from Chertsey Abbey to Windsor Castle has become a matter of acrimonious dispute. What he did, he did because his conscience tormented him, say the blacks. That is untrue, say the white-washers. Richard was paying

¹ Camden's remains.

² Sir Clements Markham.

³ Philip Lindsay.

honour to the memory of the unfortunate Lancastrian King.

The reinterment of Henry's remains is Richard's one act in which we are interested. This happened in 1484. Upon the coffin being opened it was found that the body was ". . . very odoriferous, which was not owing to any spices employed about it when it was interred by his enemies and tormentors. It was in a great measure uncorrupted, the hair of the head and body perfect; the face as usual, but somewhat sunk, with a more meagre aspect than common. A number of miracles immediately proclaimed the King's sanctity, as sufficiently appeared from the written account of them there."

The remains were taken to Windsor Castle—at the cost of £5 10s. 2d.—and they were reburied there with the greatest solemnity—says tradition, to the south of the high altar. It now seems that tradition is, for once, reliable. In 1789, when some work was in progress on the new pavement of the aisle, workmen discovered the entrance to the vault. They were directed not to open it, but in 1910 a formal investigation was made of the supposed site of Henry's reburial. A brick grave, filled with building rubbish, was laid bare, and a coffin brought to light. Examination of the bones within, while not definitely distinguishing them as Henry's, made it almost certain, from other circumstances, that they were.

Before passing on to Henry VII it should be added that the rebuilding of St. George's Chapel had by no means been completed at the death of Edward IV, but fortunately the subsequent quick succession of kings did not interrupt the work. Edward V published a warrant to "one Anthony Lambeson . . . for the painting of such our works as he shall do within our Castle of Windsor as elsewhere. . . ." while Richard III published "A warrant to John Clerk and John Coton auditors of theschecquier to here and determyne thaccompt of Thomas Cancellor aswell of al money by him Receyved and all charges and costes by hym doon from the xj day of January the xxijth yere of King E the iiijth unto the xi day of January A^o primo Regis Ricardi terciij and from thense yerely from tyme to tyme as the buylding of the Chapel of Windesore, the vicars new logginges and the Reparacions of ye gute manor . . . etc."—a doubly interesting document, showing as it does that the present trend of making

one word of two is not nearly so up-to-date as some word-coiners (or should one day, word-clippers?) believe!

In maintaining my admiration for the Tudors I admit to possessing—according to present standards—extremely bad taste. The modern historian can find nothing commendable about them. The Tudors, we are told, were miserly, rapacious, tyrannical, unmoral, untrustworthy—they were enemies of constitutionalism, of art, of literature.

I still admire them because, in their callous disregard of righteousness, they revealed and exercised a personal force which spurred their subjects to commit acts of valour and courage which made the name of England feared throughout the civilized world. Rarely has England's prestige been greater than when the Tudors ruled. But with the best will in the world it is impossible to agree that Henry Tudor had a legitimate right—other than that often hitherto exercised and very useful one of might—to the throne. In the first case, had the widow of Henry V, Katherine of Valois, been as chaste as her high station in life demanded, Henry Tudor would not have been born.

After the death of her husband Katherine carried on an intrigue with Owen Tudor, a poor Welsh esquire who had been attached to her husband's household. As a result of this liaison (for though a marriage was claimed no proof of the ceremony was ever produced) Katherine gave birth to four children, one daughter, and three sons, of whom Edmund is the only one we need follow. Edmund married Margaret Beaufort, granddaughter of John de Beaufort, illegitimate son of John of Gaunt. However, as John of Gaunt ultimately married Katherine Swynford, the mother of John de Beaufort, Richard II, the then King, legitimized the line.

Thus Henry Tudor, son of Edmund and Margaret, was a descendant of John of Gaunt. The death of Henry VI made Henry Tudor the senior member of the Lancaster line, and the Lancastrian adherents began to consider the possibilities of his ascending the throne, though his title to it was so weak as to be non-existent. To keep him safe from Yorkist machinations Henry was sent out of the country, and for several years lived in Brittany.

Richard of Gloucester's first act upon his brother's death was to seize the reins of control by making himself Lord Protector.

His next move was to use the legal quibble of Edward IV's having been previously betrothed to a woman other than his wife, to force Parliament to pass a bill annulling Edward's marriage, on the grounds that it was unlawful. The effect of this was to make all Edward's children illegitimate, including, of course, Edward V, who thus had no right to the throne. It was this device which enabled Richard to have himself crowned King.

Richard's cunning move was to have strange repercussions for, failing issue of Richard's body, Henry Tudor's title to the throne was distinctly clearer than before. The Lancastrians were not slow to seize upon this point—to strengthen Tudor's claim still further a marriage between him and Edward IV's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was suggested.

In 1483 Henry attempted a landing in England, timed to coincide with simultaneous risings in different parts of England. The plan was an utter failure from the beginning, and Henry returned to the Continent. Two years later Henry made a second landing, this time in Wales, with only two thousand men behind him. This courageous folly met with success. Wales declared for Tudor, and later many Englishmen hastened to join his standard. So unanimous was the enthusiasm for the contender, that Richard is supposed not to have been informed of Henry's landing until after Tudor had reached Shrewsbury.

With an army greatly superior in numerical strength Richard advanced to meet Tudor. The invader selected Bosworth as the battleground—for him it was a convenient spot protected by a rivulet on one side and a morass on the other. Henry won the battle, possibly because Richard's ally Lord Stanley turned traitor at a critical moment. Richard was killed, and a cry arose "King Henry! King Henry!" Whereupon Henry instantly exercised the Royal prerogative by knighting eleven of his followers. Thus Henry VII ascended the throne. Nobody can accuse him of not possessing more than a fair share of audacity.

For the first few years of his reign Henry did not find the crown an easy one to wear. At the earliest moment he married Elizabeth of York, after having declared her legitimate. This raised an anomalous situation for, obviously, if Elizabeth were of legitimate birth, so then were her brothers, and if Edward V were legitimate, then Henry himself was a usurper. It is this

fact which is directly responsible for the modern historian's accusation that Henry Tudor, not Richard of Gloucester, was responsible for the death of the two Princes imprisoned in the Tower. Henry, they argue with some justification, had every reason for killing the Princes—Richard had none for, since they had been attainted by Parliament, he had nothing to fear from any claim to the throne which they might make. Yet it is not easy to believe in this theory. In the first case, why, if Richard were innocent of the murder of the Princes, did he not, while still King, reveal them alive to the public who were already spreading rumours to the effect that he had killed them? On the other hand, if Henry were guilty of their deaths, why did he not expose their *dead* bodies to the public, as had been done in the case of Edward II and Richard II? As long as the fate of the boys was unknown to the public Henry had more to fear than if they were dead beyond all doubt, for the uncertainty of the deaths left the door open for the usual crop of imposters to appear.

Although Henry had married a Yorkist Queen, the Yorkists were not reconciled to him on account of his increasingly obvious partiality for the Lancastrians. Their restlessness soon became active, and Henry found himself faced with a series of uprisings. The first, Lord Lovel's, in 1486, he quickly suppressed. The second was Lambert Simnel's. Simnel claimed to be the Earl of Warwick (the real Earl being then a prisoner in the Tower). To expose this imposture Henry gave orders for the real Earl of Warwick to be led through the streets of London. Simnel's rebellion was suppressed.

A few years later Perkin Warbeck called himself Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV. In this instance the real Richard was not led through the streets of London so it seems safe to assume that, by 1492, the two Princes were both dead. But again I ask, why, if Henry were the murderer of the boys, did he not then have their remains disinterred? He need not have feared the accusation of having caused their deaths for, in all probability, they were killed by having been smothered by feather bolsters, a popular method of murder in those days since it had the appearance of natural death. The possible truth, I suggest, was that Henry did *not* know the whereabouts of those remains—a fact which helps to absolve him from complicity in the double crime.

All of which, I am afraid, is irrelevant to this work. The only point to be stressed here is that, as soon as Henry had settled down in his stride, he turned his attention to Windsor Castle. In 1488 he observed the old tradition by celebrating the feast of St. George there. On this occasion the Queen and the Countess of Richmond were present, each attired in a gown of the Order of the Garter. They rode to the College in a chair covered with cloth of gold, drawn by six horses, and followed by a suite of twenty-one ladies.

At the time of this Feast which, curiously, was not held on St. George's Day, a poem, which Ashmole attributes to John Skelton, was presented to Henry which, for unadulterated bathos, has few competitors:

O most famous Noble King! thy fame doth spring and spread,
 Henry the Seventh our Sovereign in each Region,
 All England hath cause thy grace to love and dread,
 Seeing Ambassadors seek for protection,
 For Aid, help, and succour, which lieth in thy Election,
 England now Rejoice for Joyous mayest thou be,
 To see thy King so flourish in dignity.

This Realm a Season stood in great jeopardy,
 When that Noble Prince deceased King Edward;
 Which in his Day begat honour full nobly,
 After his decease (nigh to hand) all was marr'd,
 Each Region this Land despised mischief when they heard:
 Wherefore Rejoice, etc.

France, Spain, Scotland, and Brittany, Flanders also,
 Three of them present keeping thy noble feast,
 Of St. George in Windsor, Ambassadors coming more,
 Each of them in honour both the more and the less,
 Seeking thy grace to have thy Noble behest;
 Wherefore now Rejoice, etc.

O knightly Order clothed in Robes with Garter,
 The Queen's grace and thy Mother clothed in the same;
 The nobles of thy Realm Rich in array, after
 Lords, Knights, and Ladies, unto thy great fame,
 Now shall all Ambassadors know thy Noble Name,
 By thy Feast Royal; now joyous mayest thou be,
 To see thy King so flourishing in dignity.

Here this day St. George Patron of this Place
 Honoured with the Garter, chief of Chivalry,
 Chaplains singing procession keeping the same,
 With Archbishops and Bishops beseen nobly,
 Much people present to see the king Henry,
 Wherefore now St. George all we pray to thee,
 To keep our Sovereign in his dignity.

Henry and Elizabeth were at Windsor Castle that same Whitsuntide, again in November, and again in the following August, 1489, when the peace treaty with Portugal was confirmed there. In 1492 the Queen Dowager, Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV, died, and at her own request, her remains were buried "with the bodie of my Lord at Windessore, according to the will of my saide Lorde and myne, without pompes entreing or costlie expensis doune thereabouts."

The repairs and alterations to the Castle executed during this reign were not many, but such as they were, were of typical Tudor design. As well as the works on St. George's Chapel, which were faithfully continued, it "must not be passed over in silence that the same (King) adjoined to the western part of the upper area, where the Castle shines out most, a new and elegant work of squared stones." This new building, it seems, was a tower of three stories, with turreted oriel windows, situated at the north-west corner of the Royal lodging.

After the death of Bishop Beauchamp these works were, for some time, under the direction of Sir Reginald Bray. Bray never wavered in his loyalty to the Lancastrians, and faithfully earned the rewards which came his way when Henry VII became King. After moving from one office to another he was placed in charge of the Windsor Castle works and so enthusiastically did he set about his task that, at his death in 1503 he left instructions in his will to be buried "in the Church of the College of our Lady and Saint George within the Castle of Windsor at the west end and south side of the same Church in the Chapel there new made by me for the same intent also in the Honour of Almighty God our Saviour, our Lady Saint Mary and of all the Saints in heaven, and for the health of my Soul, and for the Souls of them that I am most bound to do and pray for, and for all Christian Souls. I will that my Executors immediately after my decease endeavour themselves with all diligence with my goods and the

issues and profits of my said Lands and tenements by them to be received and had to make and perform and cause to be made and performed the work of the new works of the Body of the Church of the College of our Lady and Saint George within the Castle of Windsor, and the same works by them wholly and thoroughly to be performed and finished, according and after the form and intent of the foundation thereof, as well in stone-work, timber, lead, iron, glass, and all other things necessary and requisite for the utter performance of the same. Also I will that my Executors underwritten immediately after my decease shall cause a convenient Tomb to be made in the said chapel upon my grave in all goodly haste after (my) decease as may be if it be not made (in) my life. That my executors shall cause as much of my lands as shall amount to the yearly value of forty marks, above all charges to be granted and amortised to the Dean and Canons of the said College of Windsor and their successors for evermore, so that the same Dean and Chapter and Canons and their successors shall be bound for the same, in such manner and form as shall be thought by my executors to be sure, perpetually whiles the world shall endure, at the door of the said Chapel, where my Body shall be buried to thirteen poor men or women £13, that is to say to every of them £1."

The chapel in which the architect was buried is now known as the Bray Chapel.

Windsor was now beginning to be used as a Royal burial-place and Henry proposed to build a mausoleum on the site of Henry III's original Chapel, which was, of course, to the east of the new St. George's Chapel begun by Edward IV. By this time Henry III's Chapel was all but derelict, and with the building of the new chapel its usefulness was at an end. For the purpose of erecting a magnificent chapel under which his remains, and those of future Kings of England, might lie Henry asked the Pope, Alexander VI, to publish the necessary Bull for the suppression of the priory of Luffield, Northants, and its annexation to the College at Windsor. The Pope did so, in these words: "Our dearly beloved son in Christ, Henry King of England . . . proposes to found and build beside the collegiate church of Saint George in the town of Windsor and of the diocese of Salisbury, a certain chapel with a chantry under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with a sufficient number

of priests who are bound to celebrate in it for the safety of his own soul. . . ."

In 1501 the work on the mausoleum commenced by the payment "To Master Esterfelde for the kinge's tombe, £10." This payment was the first of others, but it so happened that, "——for as much as he (Henry) afterwarde changed his purpose, and made for his owne Burial that incomparable Worke at Westminster (which now yet beareth his name) this other Peice of Building at Wyndsore was otherwise employed."

The cause of this change of purpose was the Abbot of Westminster's claim that the monastery at Westminster had for a long time been the burying place of the Kings and ancestors of Henry VI, and therefore Henry VI's remains should be exhumed and reburied at Westminster. In consequence of the Abbot's insistent demands it was agreed that Henry VI's remains should be conveyed to Westminster and there reinterred, the suppressed monasteries being likewise transferred to the benefit of Westminster—but rarely was the old tag about the cup and the lip more justified. Despite the Pope's plea that Henry VI should not be defrauded of the honour of a Royal burial, despite the payment of £500 for the removal of the body, it was still at Windsor Castle in 1509 when the King proposed "right shortly" to remove the body and relics of Henry VI to Westminster. Three weeks later the King died having still failed to carry out his oft-repeated promise.

The Abbot's intervention did have the effect, however, of causing Henry to decide to move his own tomb to Westminster, and so the project for a Royal mausoleum by the side of the Chapel of St. George (now the Great Chapel) failed to materialize, and work in connection with it ceased until the next reign, when more will be heard of it.

There are records of payments made about this time which reveal, not only that Queen Elizabeth was spending much of her time at Windsor Castle, but also that kings and queens are just as human and domestic as other people. So far the history of Windsor has failed to convey that impression. Everything about the Castle has been so warlike, so formal, so suggestive of pageantry that the people who have inhabited the Castle—with the exception of the poetical King of Scotland—have almost seemed little better than pompous, shadowy personages, lacking flesh and blood. But now we read of the 6s. 8d. paid

to the keeper of the little garden at Windsor, of another 6s. 8d. to a servant of the Mayor of London in reward for bringing a present of cherries to the Queen at Windsor, 20s. to the ministers of the King's Chapel to drink at a tavern, 5s. to the grooms and pages of the hall for making bonfires on the eves of Saints John Baptist and Peter. Especially do I like the sum of 6s. 8d. (which amount was then, apparently, not the prerogative of the legal profession) for the bringing of three books to Windsor, and 1s. 8d. to a servant for bringing a present of cakes, apples and cherries to the Queen at Windsor. There are a great number of items referring to further books which were taken to the Queen, all of which tends to prove that the Queen must have been an enthusiastic reader. At other times the Queen received a popinjay, a conserve of cherries and an ell of linen cloth for a sampler.

In 1506 Henry received news that King Philip and Queen Joanna of Castile, *en route* from the Netherlands to Castile, had been forced, by contrary winds, to land in England. Henry immediately sent an invitation to the stormbound sovereign to visit Windsor, which Philip duly accepted. There is a very full account of this visit in the Cotton MS. If the historian who penned this manuscript is to be believed the two kings spent most of their time in trying to outshine one another in matters of courtesy, and to judge by the emphasis given to Philip's constant raising of his hat, this particular form of politeness cannot have been greatly practised in the England of that time.

The account is, as I have already said, a long one. Unusually so, indeed, but so much of it is interesting, if for no other reason than to show the difficulty experienced by the kings in taking polite leave of each other, that it would be a pity not to reproduce it in full.

"Memorandum that the 31st of January which was on a Saturday in the year of our Lord 1505 and the 21st year of our Sovereign Lord King H. 7, his Highness Received the King of Castile at his Castle of Windsor in manner as followeth; first his grace Rode towards the said King of Castile a mile or more out of Windsor, and there in an Arable field met with him, and when the King's Company approached near to the said King of Castile, some stood on one part and some on the other part, and so made a lane, that the two Kings might meet together, and when the King of Castile perceived the King, he took off his

Hat, and in like manner the King took off his, and with a Loving and glad countenance each saluted and embraced the other, the King with many other good words welcomed him to his Realm, and the King of Castile with humble and Loving words smilingly thanked the King of the great honours that he did him, and also for the great pleasure and kindness that the King had shewed and done unto him, since his arrival and at divers times before; and the said King took the King of Castile of his Left hand, and in good ordinance Rode towards the said Castle of Windsor, the Officers of Arms bearing their coats of Arms, and the [Trumpets blew at the meeting of the Kings] and so by the way, &c. the Earl of Derby bare the Sword Right before the Kings. It is to be noted, that there was many Noble [men] very well appointed, both with Cloth of Gold and goldsmiths' work, As my Lord Marques, the Earl of Kent, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Henry Stafford, with many and divers other Nobles and Gentlemen, and when the Kings were entered the first gate of the Castle, the Minstrels and sackbuts played, and when they approached to the place where they alighted, the King of Castile tarried and would have alighted afore the King, but the King would not suffer him but took him forth with him, and so alighted both at once, the King of Castile somewhat yet before the King; and in like Order the Lords and other Noble men went before the Kings through the [Neder] Gallery towards the Hall, and as the King perceived that the King of Castile's hat was off, he took off his hat and would not do it on till the King of Castile was almost Ready to do on his, and so went up the Stairs, and so passed through the upper Gallery to the King's great Chamber, which was Richly hung with Cloth of Arras and a great Rich bed in the same Chamber where Remained the Knights and Esquires, and from thence to the second Chamber, which was also Richly Hanged, where Remained Barons and Baronets, from thence to the third Chamber which was Hanged with a very Rich Arras in the which there was a Cloth of Estate and as Rich a Bed as I have seen, where Remained the Bishops, Earls and Officers that Attended upon him, And from thence would have conveyed the King of Castile to the fourth Chamber which was all hanged with Rich Cloth of gold the border above of Crimson velvet, and embroidered with the King's Arms with other the King's devices, as Roses, portcullises &c., but the King of Castile excused him and said that the King should not

take the pains to convey him to his Lodgings. Then the King shewed him that all that he had passed through was and should be his Lodgings and that the King thought that place honoured by his coming and Called him son, and said that he was as welcome unto him, as though he had been his own natural Son, and that his coming was not only agreeable and Joyful to him but to all his subjects and that that Room and all his Servants should be at the commandment of the said King of Castile, and that he should think that he were Come to his own father's house; and so desired him to go at his pleasure to dinner or to shirt him, but when the King of Castile perceived, that that great Lodging was for him he thanked the King bare headed, for he had taken off his Hat a little before, and said that he was sorry that the King had taken so much Labour and pains for him; and for any words or thing that the King could do he would convey the King to his Lodgings, and so he did; and after the King had shewed him his Chamber and would he should take no further pains, the King would have somewhat Reconveyed him, but the King of Castile would not suffer it, and so they enter, saluted the one the other and departed; the King Remained in his Chamber, and the King of Castile went to his and so they both went to dinner every each in his own Chamber for it was fasting-day and our Lady's eve. The King of Castile's officers and servants served their own Lord. Memorandum that as soon as the King Came into the third Chamber he took the great Lord of the King of Castile by the hand And immediately after as the King had done, the King of Castile took off his Bonnet and took the most of the great lords by the hands, as the Lord Marques, with other which were attendant upon the King; and within a two hours afterwards came my Lady Princess with her company to the said Castile, and so went to her Lodgings. And after supper was done the King of Castile took with him but one Torch and five or six gentlemen, and privily went to visit the King, and whereas a gentleman Usher and other would have warned the King, he held them back [with] his own hand, and said he would warn the King of his Coming first himself and so came he to the King's Secret Chamber door unawares of the King, and so communed together, which was great sign of perfect Love; and whereas the King would have Reconveyed him, he would in no wise the King should take the pains, and so departed for that night.

"And in the morrow, being Sunday the first day of February, the King being Lodged in the Queen's Lodgings, went from his Chamber to the Chapel, having so many noble men before him that it was Long time ere they might well pass; the Lord Henry Stafford bare the Sword, and in the Right Hand at the upper end of the choir of the said Chapel there was ordained a very Large Travers of Cloth of gold, in the which the King sat and heard the mass which was sung by the Bishop of Chichester in pontificalibus; and after mass the King went to visit the King of Castile which that day heard Mass in the Closet within his own lodgings; and when the King of Castile understood that the King came towards him he hastily came and met the King at the second Chamber door; for in the third Chamber stood the King's guard all alone, and at the meeting the King of Castile Took off his Bonnet and made Low Curtsey and bade the King good morrow, and the King said to him that he could not have well dined that day unless that he had seen him and bid him good morrow. The King of Castile thanked the King of his great Courtesy and pain, and so with divers other good words they both proceeded together to the King of Castile's dining Chamber, and both stood by the fire together.

"And after they had a while Communed together, the King desired him to tarry there still, but he excused him and said that he would convey the King to his Lodgings, and so the King took him on his Left hand and went to the second Chamber, and there the King desired him to tarry there, but he would not, and from thence they went together to the third Chamber door, when the King stopped and said that he had given him too much pain to have gone so far, and there the King had much ado to make him Tarry; And said that he would Rather Reconvey him, than he should go any further. Then answered the King of Castile and said: 'I see Right well that I must need do your commandments and to obey as Reason will.' And there was no sword borne within the King of Castile's Lodgings which after mass was borne; so for that time departed and the King Returned to his Chamber to dinner, and the King of Castile Returned in like manner to his Chamber to dinner; and after dinner the King sent to the King of Castile to understand whether it would please him to see the Ladies dance for pastime, inasmuch as it was Holy day, and might not hunt &c., which answered that gladly. And a little before by the King's commandment my Lord Herbert

voided all the King's Chamber except Lords and Officers and certain knights of great favour which remained there still; and when the King understood that the King of Castile was Coming he went to the door of the great Chamber and there Received him and desired him to take him by the arm, or else the King of Castile would not have taken so much upon him but by the King's desire; and so both together went through that Chamber, the King's dining Chamber, and from thence to an Inner Chamber where was my Lady Princess and my Lady Mary the King's daughter, and divers other Ladies; and after the King of Castile had kissed them and Communed a while with the King and the Ladies all, they came into the King's dining Chamber where danced my Lady Princess and a Spanish Lady with her in Spanish array, and after she had danced two or three dances she Left, and then danced my Lady Mary and an English Lady with her, and ever anon the Lady Princess desired the King of Castile to dance, which after that he had excused him once or twice, answered that he was a mariner and yet, said he: 'ye would cause me to dance.' And so he danced not but Communed still with the King and after that my Lady Mary had danced two or three dances she went and sat by my Lady Princess upon the end of the Carpet which was under the Cloth of Estate, and near where the King and the King of Castile stood. And then danced one of the Strange Lords and a Lady of England. That done my Lady Mary played on the Lute, and after upon the Clarichord, who played very well, and she was of all folks there greatly praised that of her youth in every thing she behaved herself so very well. And then immediately after, came the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Bishops and the Dean of the Chapel in their robes and shewed the King that it was Evensong time, and there tarried his pleasure: and within a while after both Kings, Arm in Arm, having their noblemen before them went both to the chapel and so to the said great Travers of Cloth of Gold and sat within it both together everyone having his Cushion, and at the entering of the Traverse the King preferred the King of Castile to the upper hand, but he Refused it, and so the King took it himself and so heard Evensong together, and the Bishop of Canterbury which did the divine service, sat in the Dean's stall and the Dean next him. And after evensong, the King had appointed to Convey him to his Lodgings; and from the Chapel door to the King's Chamber stood the King's

Guard all along; and when the King and the King of Castile were entered the Chamber, one of the King of Castile's Lords, that was of the order of the Tosone, warned him that it was his Lodging, and Incontinently he Answered and said that blame have I and I wish it. And so wrestled with the King and said that the King should not Convey him to his Lodging, but that he would turn back and Convey him to his; and with divers other words the King Answered that in any wise he would see him in his Lodging; and so they went both together through that chamber and the second; and when the King came to the Door of the King of Castile's Dining Chamber there is another door that goeth into a Closet and so to the King's Chamber, and when they were at the King's Chamber door the King of Castile would no further, till the door was opened, and whereas the King would have seen him in his Chamber and drew back, he said by his faith that he would Convey the King to his Lodging; and so the King of Castile went sidling in to the Closet and drew the King in by the Arm. All the Lords and other noblemen except officers Remained at the door in the other Chamber and so Returned to the King's Lodgings, and both kings departed in an Entry by the King's secret Chamber where every each of them had good word the one to the other, and so went to their own Chambers and so separate for that night they supped every each of them in their own Lodgings. And this accomplished for that day. And in the morrow, the second day of February, that was Candlemas day, both kings met secretly together and so came to the King's dining Chamber having their noblemen before them, but there was so many that it was Long time ere they might well pass through the Chambers. The Earl of Derby bare the King's Sword, and when the kings were Entered the Chapel they both together went to the Travers and there abode till the Candles were Hallowed, which were hallowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which that day sang the High mass in pontificalibus, the Bishop of Chichester gospeller, the Bishop of Norwich Epistler, The Bishop of Rochester bare the Archbishop of Canterbury's Cross, all in pontificalibus, and after in good order both Kings went a procession Round about the Hall; the King's Taper was borne by the Earl of Kent, and the King of Castile's Taper was borne by the Lord Ville Knight of the order of the Tosone. The King's Taper had a Close Crown and the King of Castile's an open Crown Garter and Tosone d'or having on their

Coat of Arms. Every each went before his Own Lord and master, and the other officers of Arms went before as appertaineth. It was a Right goodly sight to see so many noble men and so well appointed all other in Cloth of gold velvet and silk and with so many goodly chains of fine gold and of great weight; and so Returned to the Chapel and Traverse again and there heard mass; and after mass the King Returned by the King of Castile's Lodgings and would have Conveyed the King of Castile to his Dining Room but he would not the King should take the pains, and so the King entered by the Closet door to his chamber and there the King of Castile departed to his, and every each of the kings dined in his own Lodging; and after dinner both kings met together in the King's Secret Chamber, and from thence both together went to the Chapel, where they heard a Sermon in French, and immediately as the sermon was done they went to evensong and after Evensong both kings Returned to their Lodgings in like manner as they did after mass; and every each of them supped severally in his own Chamber. It is to be noted that both kings offered at once, the King of Castile somewhat after the King, and were served: and thus Accomplished that day.

"The Tuesday the third day of February both kings heard mass in their own Closets, and after dinner went a-hunting in the Little park, where Every each of the kings killed certain deer, their own hands, with their Cross-bows.

"The Wednesday and Thursday the fourth and fifth day of February both Kings were at Council, every each with his own Council, for Every prince had his council by himself, because the weather was foul and Rained, or else they had had some other pastime, but this Thursday in the morning the statutes which were sealed with the seal of the Garter were sent to the King of Castile. Garter King of Arms bare them to his presence and there delivered them to the Lord Herbert which presented them to the King of Castile, to the intent he should oversee and visit them.

"On Friday the sixth day of February both kings Rode after dinner together a-hunting to the park.

"The Saturday the 7 of February the horse was baited before the King and the King of Castile which both stood in the King's new Tower which at that time was appointed for the King of Castile's Lodgings, and after the horse was Baited Both kings

viewing the private way into the King's New Tower, that entrance could no longer have been particularly secret.

The King of Castile continued to stay at the Castle—the two kings continued to convoy each other to their respective lodgings, not forgetting at the same time to remonstrate that the other one should “not have taken the paynes to have gone so farre.” In the meantime Henry, with deep cunning—and none ever had more aptitude for indulging in subtle diplomacy than a Tudor—was not losing the opportunity of making political profit from the unexpected visit. His success was such, that Continental writers do not hesitate to accuse him of holding the King of Castile at Windsor Castle as a prisoner rather than as a guest. Before Philip departed for Spain the two kings had agreed upon a treaty of alliance, and a treaty of commerce exceedingly to the advantage of the English.

Neither man long survived this visit, for Philip died that same year, and Henry four years later. Before passing on to the reign of his son, however, it should be mentioned that, during the reign of Henry VII, the poor knights once more opened the argument with their old enemies, the dean and canons. They petitioned the King for the repeal of the Act which had parted them from the income which had been payable (but rarely paid) by the dean and canons. To this petition the dean and canons replied, and the poor knights rejoined, but the result of the affair was again unfortunate for the poor knights—with whom I must confess my sympathies lie—for, far from their petition proving successful, their enemies triumphed in having the Act confirmed, and in common with Mother Hubbard's poor dog, the poor knights got nothing!

In 1509 died the first of the Tudor monarchs. His reign had been, in length, an average one, but in deeds no! The world had definitely entered that era popularly known as the “Renaissance.” Democracy was a rising influence, yet Henry was more an autocrat than many kings before him. He was, in fact, a *king*, where the others had been *warriors*. It was Henry who utilized pageantry, not to display chivalry, but to emphasize the dignity of Royalty. For this purpose he instituted the King's Bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard. He was remorseless to all contenders to the Throne. He weakened the power of the nobles by forbidding their servants to wear liveries—the curse of the Lancastrian-Yorkist regime. He

also established the Court of Star Chamber because the jury system had proved a failure where powerful, influential people were concerned—as witness the effect of Alice Perrers' appearing in Court, and Richard II's swaggering bravoos. It was Henry VII who brought to a fine art that form of secret, Machiavellian diplomacy of which foreigners still accuse Britons of being the past masters.



Lambrequined jousting helmet, fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XIV

BLUFF KING HAL

AND now Henry VIII came to reside at Windsor Castle! I am tempted to note the fact in capital letters, for Windsor Castle houses many memories of that cheerful old sinner who pushed his way through life with a ruthless disregard for anything or anybody. Fearless, courageous, nothing daunted him, not fear of the Pope's thunder, not fear of France's threats or Spanish bluster, not fear even of the dreaded infernal regions. Daily he exercised his huge bulk in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the bar, jousting, tourneying, hunting, hawking, and shooting; almost to the end he was capable of out-riding, out-eating, and out-drinking any of his subjects; while he could play on the recorders, flute, virginals. Henry's was a regal, impressive personality which one cannot ignore, try as one may. Whatever he was, however, one thing he was not, the vulgar, coarse buffoon depicted on the screen.

Henry was eighteen years of age when he became King. Within two months he was a married man, his bride being—as every school-child knows—Catherine of Aragon, the widow of Henry's elder brother, Arthur. The first two years of Henry's reign proceeded right merrily, pageants and festivities were the order of the day, to say nothing of sports and games. Henry, it is said, rode with such vigour that, mounting each successively, he would tire out eight to ten horses in the course of a day's hunting. He was also a good tennis player.

Some of this time he spent at Windsor, but nothing of personal interest appears to have happened. Structurally he improved the Castle early in his reign by the erection of what is now called the Gatehouse, or Henry VIII's Gateway, and which was built on each side and over the principal entrance into the Castle. This building is the only one of any importance attributable to this

king, although work certainly continued on the Great Chapel of St. George which was completed in this reign.

Henry's love of pageantry found vent in the ceremonies connected with the Order of the Garter, and his partiality for this Order led him, in the eighth year of his reign, to open a subscription for the purpose of erecting a pulpit and a glazed lantern. Every member of the Order was mulcted, in all £260 was raised at the annual feast following, but what happened to the money remains something of a mystery, for it seems probable that neither the pulpit nor the lantern was ever erected. Henry, however, was not incapable of converting such a sum to other more personal purposes.

In the eleventh year of his reign Henry held a magnificent Feast of the Garter, to which he invited so great a number of guests that "in consideration of a scarcity¹⁸ and straitness of Lodgings, as well as in avoyding and eschewing of the corrupt air" regulations were issued limiting the number of horses following each guest according to rank. Thus a duke was allowed no more than sixty horses, a marquis fifty, an earl forty, a baron thirty, a Knight Bachelor of the Garter twenty, and no "odre Knight or Nobleman to have above 16 Horses, with their Carriages and all." There are several descriptions of this Feast, when "all things were plentious to strangers that resorted thither," but apart from the number of guests it does not seem to have differed greatly from previous celebrations of the Garter.

What is of more interest was another, far sadder, ceremony of the Garter, the degradation of a Knight of the Garter. This took place on the 8th of June, 1521, and the unfortunate Knight so degraded was the late Duke of Buckingham, who, three weeks previously, had been beheaded for high treason. On the occasion of this depressing and brutal rite the members of the Order gathered in the Chapel of St. George; thereupon Garter King at Arms, surrounded by other officers at Arms, read the following proclamation to a large audience.

"Be it known unto all men, that whereas Edward late Duke of Buckingham, Knight, and companion of the noble order of S. George, named the Garter, hath lately done and committed high treason against the King our sovereign Lord, and sovereign of the said order of the Garter, encompassing and imagining the destruction of the most noble person of our said sovereign Lord the King, contrary to his oath and due allegiance, and for the

which high treason the said Edward hath been indicted, arraigned, convicted, and attainted, for the which detestable offence and high treason, the said Edward hath deserved to be disgraced of the said noble order, and expelled out of the said company, and not worthy that his Arms, ensigns, and hachments should remain among other noble ensigns of the other noble virtuous and approved knights of the said noble order; wherefore our said sovereign Lord the King, sovereign of the said noble order of S. George, named the Garter, by the advice of the other knights of the said noble order, for his said offences, and committing of the said high treason, willeth and commandeth that the said Edward Duke of Buckingham be disgraced of the said noble order, and his Arms, ensigns, and hachments clearly expelled, and put from among the Arms, ensigns, and hachments of the other noble knights of the said order, to the intent, that all other noble men thereby may take example hereafter, not to commit any such heinous and detestable treason and offences, as God forbid they should.

“‘God save the King.’”

As Garter King at Arms spoke the words “expelled, and put from among the Armes,” Somerset Herald, stationed in a convenient place, violently cast down into the choir the Duke of Buckingham’s crest, banner, and sword. When the reading of the proclamation was over the officers of Arms then moved toward the cast-down insignia, and with their feet spurned the articles out of the choir, through the church, out of the west door, and so through the Castle grounds to the Bridge, where they were finally kicked into the ditch which then surrounded the Castle walls. Buckingham’s death, and the subsequent degradation of his memory, were a sharp lesson to the English nobility that the Tudor sovereign would tolerate no contenders to the Crown—and this lesson was one from which the nobles were not slow to profit.

There can be but little doubt that life at the Castle was rapidly changing about that time. Although chroniclers have written many accounts of Court life from the time of William the Conqueror onward, none of them conveys the suggestion that life could be gay as well as grave. Mediæval man certainly had his amusements and, in his own way, possibly he amused himself far more vigorously than did the men who followed

him. But those amusements were serious, and probably lacked the spontaneous, light-hearted gaiety of the Tudor era. Hunting, hawking, jousting, feasting—such were the recreations of mediæval times, and they were serious pursuits affording little opportunity for laughter.

But with the beginning of Tudor rule in England the chroniclers gradually came to describe a different type of recreation. From a hint here, a description there, we can visualize a picture of games such as tennis and bowls, played during the hours of daylight. Then, with the coming of the night, the courtiers and their ladies are charmed and delighted by music, dancing, backgammon, shovel-board, dice and cards. On Christmas Day, 1521, we learn that the clergy of Windsor College sang ballads to the Princess Mary, and later the celebrations became still more lively, when mummeries were arranged to amuse the young Princess. Dancing, music, mummeries! It is difficult to associate such frivolities with the Court of, say, Edward III—the fun of such Courts was broad and mainly supplied by their minstrels and their jesters. On the other hand, courtesans were—apparently for the first time—expressly forbidden, one of the rules devised for the establishment of good order in the King's household commanding, "The Knight Marshal shall take special care that all such unthrifty and common women as follow the Court be banished."

Jesters, however, were still a feature of Court life. During the reign of Henry VIII one of the most famous jesters of all times—Will Sommers—was a frequent visitor to Windsor Castle. Dressed in doublet and cap of red and green worsted, this short-legged fool, with his stooping shoulders, his hollow-cheeked face, and his mischievous, intelligent eyes was never far from Henry's side. Poking subtle fun at all people and at all things, yet sometimes commenting very shrewdly upon political matters which he felt should be brought to the King's notice, the man in motley was a favourite not only of Henry's but of nearly all who knew him.

It was said of Sommers that he could put the Royal table in a mood for laughter merely by grinning through the arras, and then making his way to the table "in such a rolling and antic posture, holding his hands and setting his eyes, that is past describing, unless one saw him." Harrison Ainsworth describes him as "a small, middle-aged personage, with a

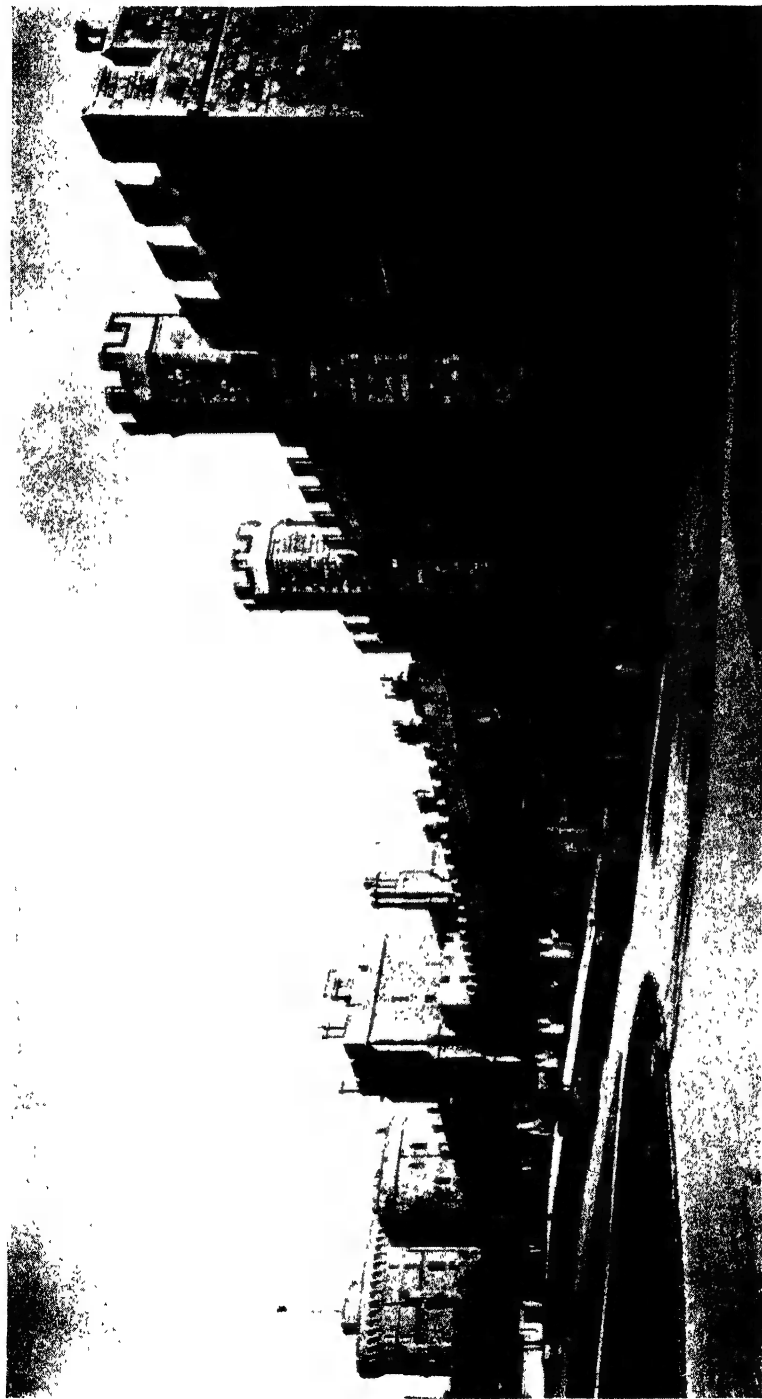
physiognomy in which good-nature and malice, folly and shrewdness, were so oddly blended, that it was difficult to say which predominated. His look was cunning and sarcastic, but it was tempered by great drollery and oddity of manner, and he laughed so heartily at his own jests and jibes, that it was scarcely possible to help joining him. His attire consisted of a long, loose gown, of spotted crimson silk, with the Royal cypher woven in front in gold; hose of blue cloth, guarded with red and black cloth; and red cordovan buskins. A sash tied round his waist served him instead of a girdle, and he wore a trencher-shaped velvet cap on his head, with a white tufted feather in it. In his hand he carried a small horn. He was generally attended by a monkey, habited in a crimson doublet and hood, which sat upon his shoulder, and played very diverting tricks."

There was one person who could not abide Sommers, and that was Cardinal Wolsey, but then Wolsey possibly was prejudiced by his own jester, Patch, who frequently accompanied his master to Court. With the rivalry of two men such as Sommers and Patch to enliven proceedings the Court of Henry VIII must have been a right merry one indeed.

Another jester who visited Windsor was a woman—Jane the Fool—probably the only woman fool of note in history. She was attached to Princess Mary's household, and the Princess's privy-purse expenditure reveals the fact that Jane's head had frequently to be shaved. No fool, apparently, could be a real fool if she wore hair. Another entry referring to Jane reads: "Item, more gevon by the Quein's Maiestie, the 5th of December, to a woman dwelling at Burye, for healing Jane the foole her eye, oone guilt salte with a cover."

In June of 1522 an important guest in the person of Charles V of Spain visited Windsor Castle. Charles V arrived at a most opportune moment for, as usual, England and France were growling defiance at each other, although Wolsey's tortuous diplomacy was slowly causing France to be surrounded by enemies. This was an effective counter-move to the French King's efforts to encircle England with antagonistic or rebellious influences.

In view of the circumstances Henry, naturally, offered the Emperor every hospitality. From Southwark the two monarchs went to Richmond, thence to Hampton Court, and so on to



Fox Photos

A modern view of the Lower Ward, shewing Henry VIII's Gateway on the right



J. Dixon-Scott

The countryside surrounding the Castle

Windsor Castle, where they hunted all Friday and Saturday. On Sunday night there was "a disguising or play" in the great hall—St. George's hall. In this play a proud horse would not be tamed or bridled until prudence and policy, sent by amity, effectively subdued and tamed the tempestuous animal. The Emperor needed no interpreter of parables to tell him that the horse represented the French King, and that prudence and policy were the English and Spanish sovereigns respectively. A sumptuous "mask" of twelve men and twelve women followed the play—a brilliant mask it was, too, for the men wore garments of cloths of gold and silver, laid loosely over crimson satin, the whole knit with points of gold; bonnets, hoods and buskins were also of cloth of gold. The ladies were just as rich to behold. When the mask was over "then came in a costly basket and a voidy of spices, and so departed to their lodging."

The three following days were devoted to business. The monarchs and their council deliberated, and that the "disguising" was not without effect is evidenced by the treaty between England and Spain which was signed during this visit to Windsor, and which was subsequently known as the Treaty of Windsor. On Corpus Christi Day the two men rode in great triumph to St. George's Chapel, where the Emperor wore his Mantle of the Garter, sat in his own stall, and gave the fortunate heralds two hundred crowns. After Mass both monarchs swore to keep their promises and league "each to other, for the which amity great joy was made on both parties, and after that Mass was ended they went to dinner, where was great feasting."

That same Christmas was spent by Henry at Windsor Castle, during which time he received a visit from the Earl Pountiver, envoy of the Duke of Bourbon. This was apparently a visit of policy, for, after being feasted by the King, "and after answer made to him by the King," the Earl speedily returned to the Continent. Another visitor about this same time was a Scotsman, one Andrew Steward, who was taken prisoner while carrying letters from the Duke of Albany to the French King "by reason whereof the King [Henry] knew much of their counsel." Later Steward paid ransom, and was released.

In September, 1524, an ambassador from Clement VII arrived at Windsor to deliver a present of a "tree forged of fine gold, and wrought with branches, leaves and flowers,

resembling Roses:¹ this tree was set in a pot of gold, which pot had three feet of antique fashion: the pot was of measure half a pint; in the uppermost Rose was a fair sapphire *Coupe perced*, the bigness of an acorn; the tree was of height half an English yard, and in breadth it was a foot." Many fine speeches of brotherly love were made during this presentation, but one suspects that if Clement VII could possibly have foreseen the schism of which Henry VIII was to be the cause, that the same good will and optimistic wishes might have been curtailed.

The following year Henry created a six-year-old boy Knight of the Garter. This was Henry, an illegitimate son of his by Lady Elizabeth Tailboys. Henry, who successively became Lord Henry Fitzroy, Earl of Nottingham, and Duke of Richmond and Somerset, was often at Windsor, where it is believed he was friendly with the Earl of Surrey who, in turn, merits a few words here. Surrey was, at one period (later than that of his friendship with Henry Fitzroy), a prisoner at Windsor Castle, and, like James I of Scotland, was similarly a poet of no mean ability. He, too, has left his impressions in verse of Windsor Castle.

So cruel prison, how could betide, alas,
 As proud Windsor, where I, in lust and joy,
 With a kinges son my childish years did pass,
 In greater feast than Priam's sons of Troy.
 Where each sweet place returns a taste full sour.
 The large green courts, where we were wont to hove
 With eyes cast up into the maiden's tower,
 And easy sighs such as folk draw in love.
 The stately seats, the ladies bright of hue.
 The dances short, long tales of great delight;
 With words and looks, that tigers could but rue:
 Where each of us did plead the other's right.
 The palme-play, where, despoiled for the game,
 With dazed eyes oft we by gleams of love
 Have missed the ball, and got sight of our dame,
 To bait her eyes, which kept the leads above.
 The gravelled ground with sleeves tied on the helm,
 On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts;

¹ The Tudor emblem, signifying the united houses of Lancaster and York. It is curious to note that at the time of the so-called Wars of the Roses, these flowers were *not* the respective emblems of the two houses. Tradition made them so, at a later date.

With chere, as though one should another whelm,
 Where we have fought and chased oft with darts.
 With silver drops the mead yet spread for ruth,
 In active games of nimbleness and strength,
 Where we did strain, trained with swarms of youth,
 Our tender limbs, that yet shot up in length.
 The secret groves, which oft we made resound
 Of pleasant plaint, and of our ladies' praise;
 Recording oft what grace each one had found,
 What hope of speed, what dread of long delays.
 The wild forest, the clothed holts with green;
 With reins availed, and swiftly-breathed horse,
 With cry of hounds, and merry blasts between,
 Where we did chase the fearful hart of force.
 The void walls eke, that harboured us each night:
 Wherewith, alas! reviveth in my breast
 The sweet accord, such sleeps as yet delight;
 The pleasant dreams, the quiet bed of rest;
 The secret thoughts, imparted with such trust;
 The wanton talk, the divers change of play;
 The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we past the winter night away.
 And with this thought the blood forsakes the face;
 The tears berain my cheeks of deadly hue:
 The which, as soon as sobbing sighs, alas!
 Up-supp'd have, thus I my plaint renew:
 "O place of bliss! renewer of my woes!
 Give me account, where is my noble fere?
 Whom in thy walls thou dost each night enclose;
 To other lief; but unto me most dear."
 Echo, alas! that doth my sorrow rue,
 Returns thereto a hollow sound of plaint.
 Thus I alone, where all my freedom grew,
 In prison pine, with bondage and restraint:
 And with remembrance of the greater grief,
 To banish the less, I find my chief relief.

On another occasion Surrey wrote:

When Windsor walls sustained my wearied arm;
 My hand my chin, to ease my restless head;
 The pleasant plot revested green with warm;
 The blossomed boughs, with lusty Very-spread;
 The flowered meads, the wedded birds so late
 Mine eyes discover; and to my mind resort

THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

The jolly woes, the hateless, short debate,
The rakehell life, that longs to love's disport.
Wherewith, alas! the heavy charge of care
Heaped in my breast breaks forth, against my will
In smoky sighs, that overcast the air.
My vapoured eyes such dreary tears distil,
The tender spring which quicken where they fall;
And I half bend to throw me down withal.

This gifted but unfortunate poet was in constant trouble. In 1537 he was confined at Windsor for striking a courtier at Hampton Court, in 1542 he was committed to the Fleet for another quarrel, in 1543 he was again sent to the Fleet for eating flesh during Lent. In 1546 he was charged with the more serious offence of high treason, and after a brief imprisonment lost his head.

A word or two must here be said about Henry VIII's ever-green matrimonial affairs, for Windsor Castle was well known to at least one of his six wives. We know that Henry married his brother's widow. This was in 1509. The first and only child of this marriage, Mary, was born in 1516. The birth of a daughter instead of a son was a source of deep disappointment to Henry. His chief reason for embarking upon such a troubled, tortuous matrimonial course was almost certainly a desire to have an heir to the Throne. For all his faults Henry, like the other Tudors, was a patriotic man. He was also intensely proud of his line. Toward the latter part of his life all his conspiracies and liaisons were directed toward one end, the continuation of the House of Tudor. Poor Henry VIII. He would have died an even sadder man could he have known how utterly the Tudor Line was to vanish.

In 1516 he had yet to realize that Catherine, his wife, was incapable of bearing a son. After the Queen had recovered from her confinement he eagerly anticipated the coming of a second child. That second child was never born. The years passed and, alarmed by the absence of a male heir, Henry foresaw the possibility of his desire never being fulfilled. It was with this realization to urge him forward that Henry began to ponder upon the advisability of divorcing Catherine.

Some commentators are bitter upon the matter of this divorce, but in applying for an annulment of the marriage Henry was by no means creating a precedent. Indeed, more than one instance

of a king or a prince or a duke who divorced his wife has already been mentioned in these pages. But for one circumstance the probability is that the Pope would willingly have annulled the marriage—and that circumstance was the Pope's fear of the Spanish emperor, whose prisoner he was.

The sorry intrigues which were a direct consequence of the Pope's dilatory decision need no recapitulation here. What is of interest to us is that, about this time, 1530, Anne Boleyn first makes her appearance at Windsor Castle, for on the 29th of April the privy purse expenses reveal an item of three and fourpence paid to "Taylor serv^t of Lady Anne in reward for finding a hare." This Taylor subsequently received several fairly considerable sums, presumably as "hush-money."

Although it is more than likely that Henry and Anne were even then anticipating the pleasures and prerogatives of marriage, the King had not yet officially parted from the Queen. Thus, after Whitsuntide of 1531, Henry and Catherine visited the Castle and remained there several weeks. During that time it seems likely that Henry reached the decision that nothing should stand in the way of his divorce from Catherine, and his marriage to Anne Boleyn, for either on the 14th, or toward the end of July, "the kyng removed to Woodstocke, and left hire [Catherine] at Wyndstore, where she laye a whyle, and after removed to the More, and afterwards to Esthamstide: and after this day, the Kyng and she never saw together."

A frequent visitor to the Castle whom we must not forget to mention was Cardinal Wolsey. Thomas Wolsey, the son of a comparatively poor man, took holy orders immediately he was of an age to do so. He speedily gained advancement until, in 1507, he became chaplain to Henry VII, when he established friendships with several powerful men at Court. Before Henry died he had made Wolsey Dean of Lincoln.

The death of the King proved no setback to Wolsey's career. Henry VIII made Wolsey (or Wulcy, as he always signed himself) almoner, and in 1511 the prelate was made a Canon of Windsor, and registrar of the Order of the Garter. From that moment he openly took part in public affairs, and Henry came to rely more and more upon the subtle, cunning advice of this new canon. Wolsey amassed more and more power as his friendship with the King strengthened, until, in 1515, he was created Cardinal, and shortly afterwards was appointed Lord Chancellor.

Despite the heavy demands which his public duties must have made upon his time Wolsey yet found opportunities to interest himself in the Castle. In particular did he consider the future of the old chapel of St. George, or Lady Chapel, which Henry VII had practically rebuilt for the purpose of adapting it as a Royal mausoleum. On the 20th of December, 1511, an indenture was made between the Dean and canons on the one part, and William Vertue Freemason on the other, whereby the Lady Chapel was to be vaulted, its decorations completed, and a gallery made between the new and old chapels.

This indenture seems faithfully to have been carried out, and by 1520, or thereabouts, the chapel must have been a handsome place. At any rate, about this time, Wolsey was now such a power in the land that he was sufficiently audacious as to request the grant of the Lady Chapel for the purpose of building in it a monument for himself. And it is a significant indication of the extent of that power that his request was granted! Without hesitation Henry Tudor handed over the chapel which his father had "lately begun to make and bilde of new . . . the said chapel to have be buried hymself."

Wolsey spared neither time nor money in making his monument one of the finest in the world—certainly as fine as any Royal monument hitherto fashioned. The work was performed apparently by a famous Florentine artist who was paid nearly £1000 between June, 1524, and June, 1529, and probably, at another time, a similar amount. Benedetto da Rovezzane, the artist, mentions in one letter that the gilding alone was to cost £800.

Wolsey's tomb apparently consisted of black and white marble, decorated with "copper graven wrought like cloth of gold to lie upon the said tomb all gilt and burnished," an image of the Cardinal, likewise all gilt and burnished, two gryphons at the feet thereof, four great pillars of copper curiously graven, four angels with candlesticks, four angels kneeling, all gilt and burnished, a cross with a staff and figure of the crucifix—of course, gilt and burnished—two great pieces of copper for epitaphs, four naked children, twelve little figures representing the images of certain saints, and lastly fourteen small escutcheons, for the arms of the Cardinal with the arms of the churches to which he had been attached.

Such was the sumptuous monument which Wolsey optimistically and ostentatiously prepared for himself. Yet in his dealings with a master who lavished such power upon him, his subtle mind seemingly failed to grasp one fact, that he would remain powerful only as long as he remained useful to Henry. The King's frantic desire for a divorce from Catherine helped to bring about Wolsey's downfall. When Wolsey failed to obtain this divorce the Cardinal was deprived of his chancellorship and immediately Wolsey's many enemies rushed to the King to accuse Wolsey of various charges. Wolsey was disgraced, and his health gave way under the strain. He died the year following, on the 29th of November.

During the months of his disgrace Wolsey lost all to the King, including, naturally, the monument, which Henry unscrupulously annexed and then had converted to his own use—and Henry's dexterity in converting other people's goods to his own use is a matter of history.¹

On Sunday the 1st of September, 1532, an event of unusual importance was celebrated at Windsor. This was nothing less than the investiture of Anne Boleyn as the Marchioness of Pembroke, the first woman to be created a peeress in her own right. On that day the King, attended by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, many nobles, the French ambassador, and members of the Privy Council gathered in the "chamber of Salutation," better known as the Presence Chamber. After the King had seated himself upon the Throne, Anne was conducted thither by a train of courtiers, male and female, the Heralds first, then Garter King of Heralds, carrying the charter, followed by Mary, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, carrying a robe in one hand and a coronet of gold in the other. Next came Anne herself, with, for some extraordinary reason, her hair flying loose and hanging down over her shoulders. She was, says the chronicler, "attired in her inner garments," but this is not quite so indecorous

¹ Henry, however, was not buried in the Tomb House, which was apparently neglected until the time of the Commonwealth, when the bronze work was torn off Wolsey's tomb and melted down, realizing the sum of £600. In 1805 what remained of the black marble sarcophagus after it had been so stripped was moved from Windsor, and was used as a monument over Nelson's grave, where it is now to be seen in the crypt of St. Paul's. As for the Tomb House, the design of establishing a Royal sepulchre was carried into effect in 1810. It is now known as the Albert Memorial Chapel, having been restored and beautified by Queen Victoria in 1874.

as it sounds, for she wore, it seems, a short-sleeved crimson velvet surcoat, lined with ermine.

As Anne approached the Throne she thrice made her obeisance, and then fell upon her knees in front of the King. The letters patent were then read by the Bishop of Winchester while the King suited the action to the word, and when the Bishop pronounced the words *mantellæ inductionem* the King placed the "Roab of Estate" upon Anne's shoulders, and later, when the words *circuli aurei* were intoned, he placed the coronet upon Anne's head. After the reading of the letters patent Henry then presented the new Marchioness with the same, which gave the title to her and to the heirs male issuing out of her body forever, and another, very acceptable, document by which the Marchioness would be entitled to the annual sum of £1000 for the maintenance of her new dignity. This last act finished the ceremony, so Anne gave the King most humble thanks, and wearing her new robe and coronet she departed "with the trumpets aloud sounding." On his part Henry rode off to a meeting with the French ambassador, to conclude a new league between England and France.

This September Sunday, and St. Paul's Day, in the following January, were Anne's two moments of triumph, but they were little recompense for the miseries to follow. On the 7th of September she gave birth to a girl. Henry lacked the gift of prophecy which might have warned him that the new child was to be one of England's greatest sovereigns. He was deeply disappointed that the child should have been a girl, and this annoyance was aggravated when, the following year, Anne had a miscarriage. However, it was not long ere she knew there was a new life beating within her body. Doubtless her hopes ran high—but on the 29th of January, 1536, she was delivered prematurely of a dead child. That poor little dead mite spelled Anne's own doom. Not only had she lost all personal attraction for the lecherous King, but it now seemed likely that he might look to Anne in vain for the long-hoped-for heir. Charges of adultery against the unfortunate woman were concocted, and she was hurried off to prison. What prison? The keeper of the Curfew, or Clewer, Tower at Windsor Castle will show the curious visitor the very cell occupied by Anne Boleyn during her short term of imprisonment, at which point one can reflect upon the mysterious workings of providence which caused the Marchion-

ess to be imprisoned beneath the walls of the Castle where, not many years previously, she had been so highly honoured. Alas for such thoughts! In this instance, an accusation against providence for an act of such cruel mockery would be a miscarriage of justice. The keeper of the Clewer Tower, in maintaining that Anne Boleyn was imprisoned at Windsor Castle, is guilty of drawing the long bow. Anne spent her last days at the Tower of London, not at Windsor Castle. It seems a shame to spoil such a good story.¹

The decapitated body of Anne was scarcely cold in its dishonoured grave before Henry remarried. The unfortunate woman this time was Jane Seymour, and the ceremony took place eleven days after Anne's execution. The commentator who writes of Henry's "indecent haste" in marrying Jane is scarcely exaggerating the facts.

The marriage was short-lived. On the 12th of October, 1537, Queen Jane gave birth to a child—and this time no mistake had been made. The child was a boy—at last Henry had the happiness of knowing he had a male heir to continue—as he hoped—the Tudor line. But in his moment of exultation Henry suffered a grievous loss. Twelve days later Jane died. Unhappy monarch! No sooner had he found a woman capable of producing sons than a cruel fate robbed him of her. Fate seemed determined that the Tudors should soon become extinct.

No doubt Jane visited Windsor Castle during that short period when she was Queen, but nothing of consequence occurred. After her death her body, richly apparelled, was taken from Hampton Court to Windsor and buried in the choir of St. George's Chapel. The chief mourner at this funeral was Princess Mary who, later, at Windsor and at Hampton Court, offered up thirteen masses for the soul of the departed queen.

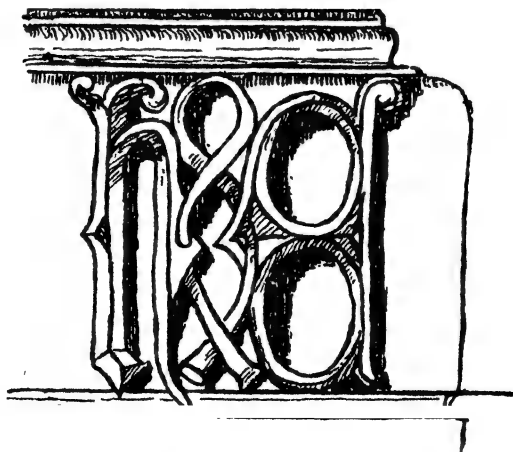
Henry was probably fonder of Jane than of any other woman, for not only did he will "that our bodie be buried and enterred in the quire of our College of Winsor, midway between the halls and the high altar; and there to be made and set, as soon as convenientlie maie be donne after our descease, by our executors, at our costs and charges . . . an honourable tombe for our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made therfore already, with a fair grate about it, in which we will alsoe the bones of our

¹ See Appendices for further anecdotes of the Curfew Tower.

true and loving wife Queene Jane be put alsoe," but also it must be remembered that after Jane's death he remained a widower for more than two years.

Henry's fourth wife was Anne of Cleves. He married her on the 6th of January, 1540, and divorced her within six months. A few weeks later he married Catherine Howard, but in the December of 1541 he learned that Catherine had not remained chaste during his absence. She was executed in the following February, and on the 12th of July, 1543, he married for the last time, Catherine Parr, who thus became his sixth wife. None of these last three wives plays an important part in the history of the Castle, although Catherine Howard, at any rate, was there during the first autumn of her short married life.

Indeed, although Henry often visited Windsor throughout his reign, during his later years little of interest happened there, and after a long reign of thirty-eight years, during which he threw into the melting-pot the established religion of the country, the lives of many prominent subjects and the theory of Parliamentary rule, he fell ill on the midnight of the 28th-29th of January, 1547, and died within a few hours; later to be buried, not in the Lady Chapel, as he had intended, but in the choir of the Chapel of St. George. So came the infant Edward VI to the Throne of England.



*Monogram of Henry VII and Elizabeth of
from the ceiling at the west end of the gallery
connecting Lady Chapel with St. George's Chapel.*

CHAPTER XV

BLOODY MARY

EDWARD VI was little more than nine years of age when he ascended the Throne, and just over sixteen when he died. He reigned, therefore, only six years and six months. So short a period might well have afforded no additional material for this story, but it so happened that several events of interest took place in that time. In the first case, our old friends, the poor knights, at last came into their own. Evidently they must have pleaded their cause well with Henry VIII, for, in his will, that King bequeathed:

“ . . . And to move the poor people that shall have our alms to pray heartily unto God for the remission of our offences and the wealth of our soul, also we will, with as convenient speed as may be done after our departure out of this world, if it be not done in our life time, that the Dean and Canons of our free chapel of Saint George, within our castle of Windsor, shall have manors, lands, tenements, and spiritual promotions, to the yearly value of £600 over all charges, made sure to them and their successors for ever, upon these conditions hereafter ensuing. And, for the due accomplishment and performance of all other things contained with the same, in the form of an indenture, signed with our own hand, shall be passed, by way of covenants for that purpose, between the said Dean and Canons, and our executors (if it pass not between us and the said Dean and Canons in our life), that is to say, the said Dean and Canons and their successors for ever, shall find two priests to say masses at the said altar, to be made where we have appointed our tomb to be made and stand, and also after our decease keep yearly four solemn obits for us within the said College of Windsor, and at every of the said obits to cause a solemn sermon to be made, and also at every

of the said obits to give to poor people an alms of £10; and also to give for ever yearly for ever to 13 poor men, which shall be called Poor Knights, to every of them 12d. by day; and once in the year, yearly for ever, a long gown of white cloth, with the Garter upon the breast embroidered, with a shield and cross of Saint George within the Garter, and a mantle of red cloth; and to such a one of the 13 Poor Knights as shall be appointed governor and head of them £3. 6s. 8d. for ever yearly, over and above the said 12d. by the day. . . .”

To carry out the terms of his father's will Edward, by letters patent, dated 7th of October, 1547, settled certain lands upon the College, stipulating only that £600 a year from the revenues thereof were to be employed in building houses for the poor knights within the Castle.

Edward's religious sympathies revealed themselves in other ways, but though king *de jure* he was not king *de facto*. He was controlled nominally by a council of regency, which Henry had decreed should consist of eighteen executors, but which, in effect, consisted only of Edward's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, who was chosen as Lord Protector. We shall hear more of Hertford later on, but first should be noted the effect upon the Order of the Garter of the vast religious upheaval of the previous reign. Throughout the reign of Edward VI no Festival of the Garter was held at the Castle, in consequence of which, regrets Ashmole, "the days became more gloomy. . . . Under what churlish Fate this noble place then suffered, we cannot guess, other than the common calamity of that Age, wherein most Ceremonies, solemn or splendid, either (chiefly such as related to Divine Services) came under the suspicion of being superstitious, if not idolatrous. Insomuch as at a Chapter held at Greenwich, upon the 22nd day of April, in the second year of his Reign (an abolition being intended of all such Ceremonies as were not consonant to the King's Injunctions then lately prescribed), it was Ordained and Decreed, that then and for ever from thenceforth (at the Feast of this most Noble Order) no other Ceremonies should be observed, than such as were appointed in the following Letter. Which was at that Chapter agreed upon, and a little before the Council to the Knights Companions attributing the whole procedure, to the great piety of the then sovereign, and

the care he took, that certain abuses and preposterous Ceremonies of the Church, should be reformed: Whereby the Solemnity, State and magnificence of this Grand Festival was very much eclipsed.

“ ‘After our most hearty commendations; For as much as the Kings Highness hath appointed a most godly Reformation of divers abuses and rites in the Church, to a more convenient and decent Order, of the which some hath been used heretofore, in the most honorable and amicable Order of the Garter, and being not reformed, there should make a disagreeing from His Majesty’s most godly proceedings.

“ ‘Therefore it is His Majesty’s will and pleasure, by the advice of us the Lord Protector, and other his Highness Council, that all such things, as be not conformable and agreeing to His Majesty’s Injunctions, Orders, or Reformations, now of late prescribed, should be also in that most Noble Order and the Ceremonies thereof left undone, and reformed as hereafter followeth. First, that no Procession be made with going about the Church or Church-yard, but the Kings Majesty’s Procession, lately set forth in English to be used. His Majesty and other Knights of that Honorable Order, sitting in their Stalls, at the entry such Reverence to be made to the King’s Majesty only as was heretofore.

“ ‘The Offering to be in the Box for the Poor, without any other Reference or kissing of any Paten or other such thing, but only at the return due Reverence to the King’s Majesty as was used before. The Mass of Requiem to be left undone, but yet both upon St. George’s day and the next day a Mass to be sung with great Reverence; in the which immediately after the words of Consecration is said, the Priest shall say the Pater Noster, and so turn and communicate all, or so many of the Order or other, after they have done, as shall be disposed godly at the same time to receive the Communion, according to such order as is prescribed in His Highness Book of Communion, and without any other Rite or Ceremony after the said Communion to be used, except it be some godly Psalm or Hymn to be sung in English, and so to end the said Service. All Chapters and other Rites concerning the said Order, not being contrary to these, to remain as they have been prescribed and used, the which we have thought good

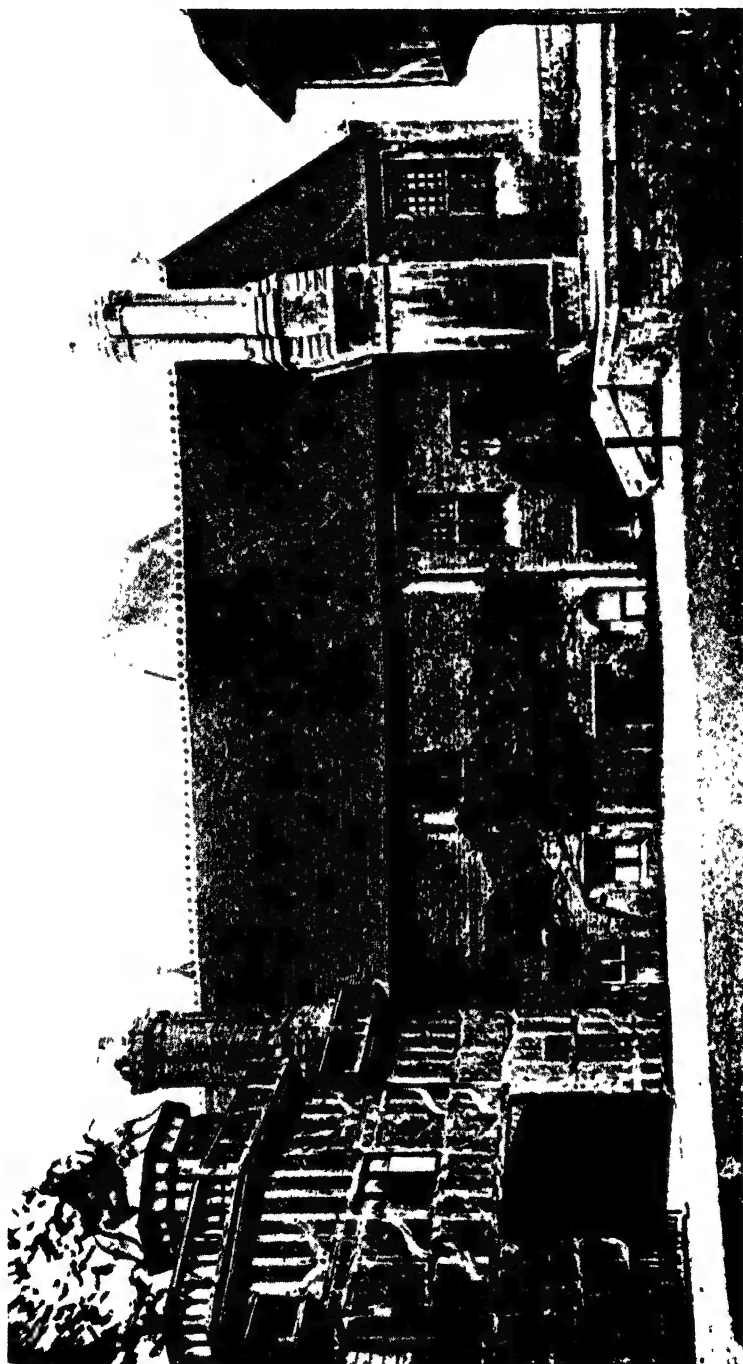
to signifie unto you, that you may follow the same accordingly.
From Greenwich the 20. of April 1548.'

"This Decree we observe, signified not less than a Prohibition to the holding the Grand Feast at Windsor (although it spoke not so plain) at least the neglect of its celebration there, whilst King Edward the Sixth lived, makes it to seem so. And albeit towards the end of this Sovereign's Reign, some care was or seemed taken, for a permissive holding of the said Feast, either upon the day of St. George, or some other day appointed by Prorogation, yet was it without any regard had to the ancient and usual place, the Castle of Windsor. For when the Act of Parliament passed, commanding the days therein mentioned to be kept holy, and none other (whereby the celebration of many days besides, which in former time, by the Canons of our Church appointed to be kept holy, were prohibited, and among the rest the Feast day of St. George, it being not found among those Feast days at that time established) It was considered, That a Proviso and allowance should be entered in the afore-said Act, for the celebration of this Feast, particularly by the Knights Companions of this most Noble Order, in these words:

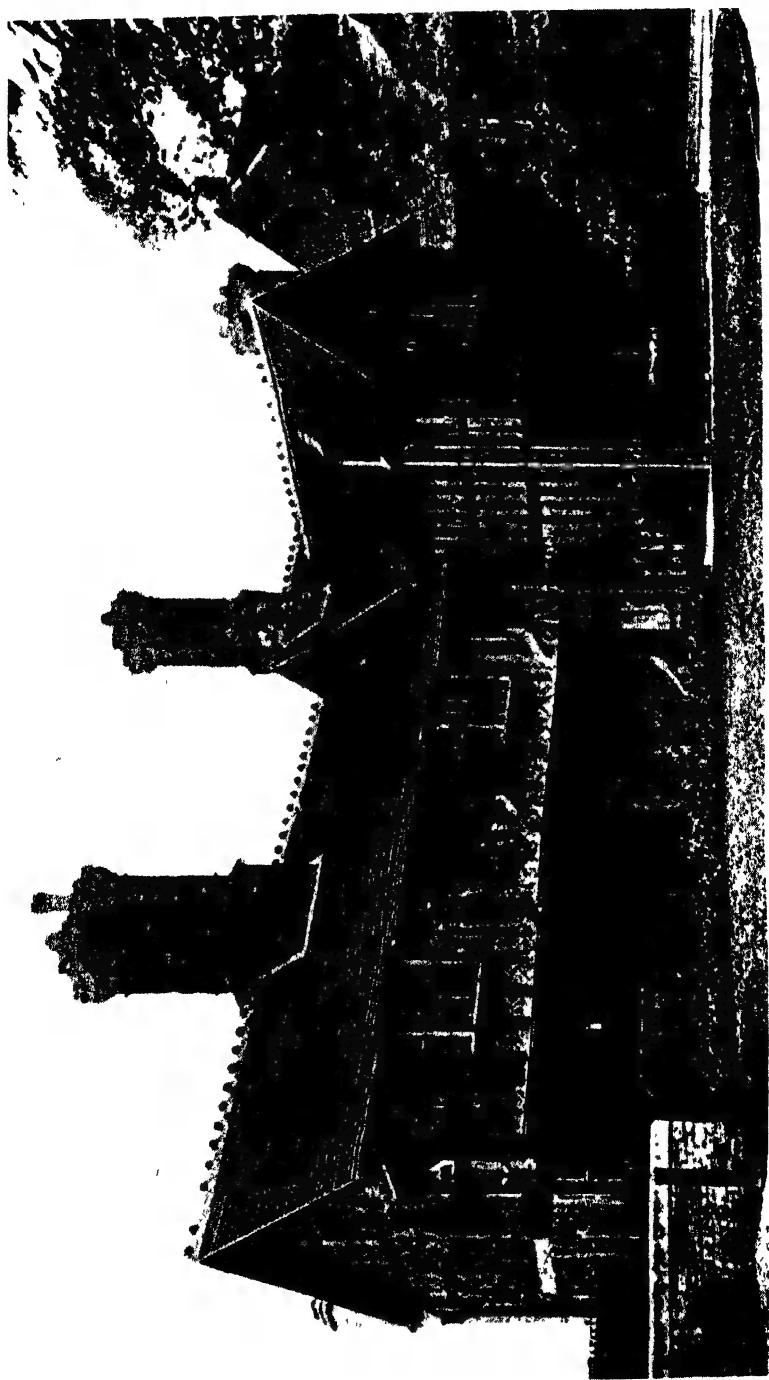
" 'Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful to the Knights of the right honorable Order of the Garter, and to every of them, to keep and celebrate solemnly the Feast of their Order, commonly called St. George's Feast, yearly from henceforth the 22. 23. and 24. days of April, and at such other time and times, as yearly shall be thought convenient, by the Kings Highness, his Heirs and Successors, and the said Knights of the said honorable Order, or any of them, now being, or hereafter to be, any thing in this Act heretofore mentioned to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"Which Act, although it suffered a Repeal by Queen Mary, yet stands it at this day in force, being revived by King James, (by) his repealing of that Statute of the first of Queen Mary, cap. 2."

In the meantime the Lord Protector was rapidly achieving too much power. He was made Protector on the express condition that he should act only with the advice and consent



The Chapter Library, previously the Vicar's Hall



Half timbered houses in the Lower Ward

of the other executors, but soon, besides being Protector and executor, he became High Steward of England, treasurer of the Exchequer, Earl Marshal, and Duke of Somerset. Lastly he obtained a patent which empowered him to act without the advice of the council of regency. With these offices and patents in his grasp he was virtually as powerful as a king; that he considered himself upon an equality with Royalty was proved by his addressing the French King as "brother."

As one sees again and again few men save a king born are strong enough to resist the intoxicating influence of power. Power inflames ambition to achieve still more power, it dulls the intelligence, stultifies the faculties, and destroys commonsense. Men become blind and deaf to all warnings. Wilfully they plunge forward to the brink of disaster, and once they are well in their stride, no power on earth holds them back.

Somerset was no exception to this rule. Heedless that no English king had yet succeeded in conquering Scotland he determined to revive Edward I's claim to feudal suzerainty over Scotland. He gathered an army and marched into Scotland. There he found himself face to face with an army of superior strength, entrenched in an impregnable position. But, instead of waiting for Somerset to attack, the Scots, confident of victory, took the initiative. They left their unassailable position and attacked the English army. The Scots should easily have won the battle of Musselburgh, but they could not force the English lines, and when the English cavalry, which the Scots had previously scattered, re-formed and charged, the Scots became panic-stricken and fled. The victory was a triumph for Somerset, but it did not materially help him in his object, and eventually he was compelled to retreat from lack of food.

When he returned to London he was honoured for his campaign, but his arrogance and ambition made many enemies, not least among whom was his own brother, Admiral Seymour, who had secretly married the Queen Dowager, Catherine Parr. Catherine died in childbirth and Seymour then tried to marry Princess Elizabeth, but his audacity became known, and after a trial for high treason, he lost his head. These intrigues of Seymour did not help Somerset's authority, and troubles gathered thickly round the Protector. Minor rebellions broke out in different parts of the country, but no sooner were these crushed

than a new enemy, the Earl of Warwick, conspired against him. Realizing that danger was threatening, Somerset,¹ on the night of the 6th of October, gathered together a force of five hundred men, and accompanied by the King, fled to Windsor Castle.

For some hours, at least, it seemed likely that civil war might break out, and Somerset must have feared this for he gave orders for the Castle to be fortified, and also sent a messenger to Lord Russell, requesting his assistance.

Somerset excused this show of force to Edward in these words: "that this force and power which here is assembled about Your Majesty at this present, is to do none of them which be there at London or elsewhere either in person or goods any damage or hurt, but to defend only if any violence should be attempted against your Highness."

In London the regency council held a meeting, and the city promised it support. Lord Russell, to whom Somerset had written, also threw in his lot with the council. Soon fifteen thousand men were gathered together against the Protector. The council sat again in the Star Chamber "and from thence they sent Sir Philip Hobbie, with their letters of credence to the King's majesty, beseeching His Highness to give credit to that which the said Philip should declare unto His Majesty in their names: and the King gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say. And truly he did so wisely declare his message, and so gravely told his tale in the name of the lords, yea therewithall so vehemently and grievously against the Protector, who was also there present by the King, that in the end, the Lord Protector was commanded from the King's presence."

On the 11th of October Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, went to the King at Windsor Castle and there "severed the Lord Protector from his person, and caused the Guard to watch him till the Lords' coming." The lords arrived upon the following day, when Somerset was lodged in the Beauchamp Tower. He remained there until the 14th of October when, accompanied by a company of lords and gentlemen, and escorted by three hundred horse, Somerset rode from Windsor Castle to the Tower of London.

Later the Protector was charged with several offences against

¹ Somerset House, which he built for himself, was named after him.

the State, of which the following three items are of interest to this history:

"26 Item, the 9th of October last, you did of your own head, suddenly remove the Kings Majesty's person late in the night from Hampton Court to Windsor, without any provision there made for His Grace, whereby His Highness was not only in great fear, but took also such disease as was to his great peril."

"27 Item, you caused your own servants, and friends at Hampton Court, and at Windsor to be harnessed with the King's armour, the King's grace's servants having no armour nor harness."

"28 Item, you caused at Windsor your own person in the night time to be guarded in harness by many persons, leaving the Kings Majesty's person unguarded, and would not suffer his own guard or servants to be next the King's person, but appointed your servants and friends to keep the gates."

As far as Windsor is concerned Somerset has no further place here, but for those who are interested he was fined, deposed of his protectorate, and then pardoned. For eighteen months he lived quietly and unobtrusively, attending regency councils and working diligently, but Warwick's enmity persisted. On a trumped-up charge that Somerset was plotting to seize the Tower of London and the Isle of Wight, Somerset was arrested, and later beheaded.

In 1552 a Chapter of the Order of the Garter was held at Westminster at which the statutes of the Order were reformed. The preamble of the new statutes is lengthy, but well worth republishing.

"Our most noble ancestors kings of England, studying greatly and long considering with themselves what devout reverence towards God, what natural love to their country, what loving affection to their subjects they ought to bear, They soon found that nothing was either fitter or more agreeable with their office than to advance to high honour and glory, good, godly, valiant well couraged, wise, and noble men, and to breed and maintain a certain amity, fellowship, and mutual agreement in all honest things amongst all men, but especially among equals, for they judged honour,

as surely it is, the regards of virtue and concord, the foundation and enlarger of common weals, when they had wisely weighed these things, they thought it best to make a certain fellowship, and as it were a College of those that had very well and honestly borne themselves at home in time of peace, and had tried themselves valiant and wise abroad in martial feats, wherefore they devised that such men in a token of concord and unity should wear about their legs a certain garter, whereby they should declare to all men, that for their country and God's cause they would be ready valiantly and manfully to spend not only their goods but also themselves and their lives, and for that cause they have called this fellowship the Order of the Garter. But that old serpent Satan a continual adversary to mankind had so great envy hereat, for that he espied it to be of all men both in our own and foreign countries much commended, that he busily laboured to deface and utterly to destroy so great an encouragement and occasion of virtue, and this he did so much the rather, when he saw so many valiant men stirred with desire of this honour to the attaining of perfect and absolute virtue whereupon so far forth he went subtly blinding mens' eyes upon hope of prey, that at length he filled and stuffed the very statutes and ordinances of this fellowship and order with many obscure, superstitious and repugnant opinions, We therefore to defeat this so great malice of that subtle enemy have been greatly moved by the ancientness, majesty, and very godliness of this order, so that we thought all our study, labour and diligence to be well bestowed in reducing the same to his original estate and pristine foundation."

After his stay at Windsor when he faced the possibility of a siege, Edward apparently visited there upon only one subsequent occasion, during the course of a State progress. Nothing more happened at the Castle before his death on the 6th of July, 1553. He died at Greenwich Palace, after having twice devised, under the influence of Warwick, then Duke of Northumberland, the Crown to his first cousin, once removed, Lady Jane Grey.

Poor little Jane Grey's attempt to sit upon the English Throne was doomed from the beginning. She was but a child of sixteen at the time of Edward's death, and only the desperate

ambition of Northumberland, her father-in-law, to retain power, was responsible for the rash adventure. It failed dismally, for Mary, daughter of Henry VIII by Catherine of Aragon, marched into London, and was received with acclamation. Mary was crowned Queen, and Northumberland, his son, and Jane were all arrested, and all beheaded—even Jane. In permitting the execution of Lady Jane Grey, Mary revealed herself as a true Tudor, merciless to all who had even the remotest claim to the Throne.

Mary's reign was even shorter than that of Edward VI, it lasted only five years and four months. Short though it was, this reign was one of the unhappiest in history; unhappy for the sovereign, unhappy for the country. Excluding all the religious aspects of her reign, it still remains an inglorious one, and the prestige of the country sank incredibly low in those few years. England lost, for all time, her last French possession (if one excepts the Channel Islands, of course).

As far as Windsor is concerned, however, memories of Mary I must be less bitter. Mary, in her youth, had spent many years at Windsor, and it was only between 1527 and 1537, when Henry was indulging in his matrimonial experiments, that a long period went by without her visiting there. Perhaps the Castle had pleasant memories for her. At any rate, one of her first acts after ascending the Throne was to restore the Order of the Garter to the status it held under Henry VIII. On the 27th of September "it was decreed and ordained that the Laws and Ordinances (made by King Edward the Sixth), which were in no sort convenient to be used, and so impertinent and tending his novelty, should be abrogated and disannulled; and no account to be made of them for the future." At the same time several members of the Order who had been degraded were reinvested, replaced in their former stalls, and the records of their disgrace expunged.

In 1554 the Castle was the setting for a honeymoon, that of Mary and her husband, Philip of Spain. This marriage had been arranged contrary to the wishes of nearly all Mary's subjects, many of whom had been so active in their resentment that three insurrections had broken out when the marriage articles were first published. Despite these expressions of displeasure Mary persisted in the marriage, and it was solemnized at Winchester Cathedral, on the 25th of July.

It is, perhaps, not generally realized that, by this marriage, Philip,

Flamed in brocade, white satin his trunk hose,
Inwrought with silver,—on his neck a collar,
Gold, thick with diamonds; hanging down from this
The Golden Fleece—and round his knee, misplaced,
Our English Garter, studded with great emeralds,
Rubies, I know not what.

became, not Prince Consort (as was the case with Prince George, husband of Queen Anne, and Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria), but joint King of England. Thus, on the conclusion of the wedding ceremony, a herald proclaimed the titles of bride and groom in these words: "Philip and Mary, by the grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol." More significant still is that statutes passed in Parliament during this reign were passed as being of Philip and Mary—not as of Mary.

After the marriage the new King and Queen of England proceeded to Basingstoke where the Marquis of Winchester gave an elaborate entertainment in their honour. From Winchester the Royal couple proceeded to Windsor. There, at the lower end of Peascod Street, they were met, say the chroniclers, by the mayor and his brethren "and thence (the trumpets sounding) they proceeded with the officers of arms before them, into the Castle, till they arrived at the west door of the chapel, where was prepared a form with carpets and cushions, and at their entry the Bishop of Winchester censed them.

"The Queen having received the Mantle of the Order, with a reverential kiss from the Earls of Derby and Pembroke (to whom it had been presented by the Register of the Order), put it upon the King (assisted by the said Earls); the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, receiving the Collar of the Order from Garter, presented it to the Queen (with the like ceremony as was the Mantle) who put it about the King's neck.

"Then all the Knights Companions put on their Mantles, within the chapel door, and proceeded into the choir, and stood before their stalls according to ancient order. Then the Queen went into her stall, taking the King by the hand, and setting him in the same stall with her, and after a little space, they

both descended and proceeded up to the high altar (the Queen keeping the right hand) and there offered; after which they returned to their stall, where they reposed themselves, while all the knights companions present, did offer, according to their degree, and had taken their stalls according to their ancient custom. Then was *Te Deum* and *de Profundis* sung, which being finished, they came all down from their stalls, and proceeded to the chapter house door, where the King, and all the knights companions put off their mantles; and immediately going out of the chapel, they took their horses at the chapel door, and proceeded in order, up to the Castle, where they reposed themselves that night."

On Sunday, the 5th of August, the installation ceremony took place. On this occasion the Earl of Sussex was also "stalled in the Order. At which time an herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords."

A short time after Mary and Philip had spent their honeymoon at the Castle fresh building operations were begun. These were the "building and erection of the Alms Knights' lodgings, within the honour and Castle of Windsor. As well of the seven upper lodgings (whereof the Tower is one) as also the six nether lodgings beneath the said Tower, and one room for the hall, the kitchen, and the pantry."

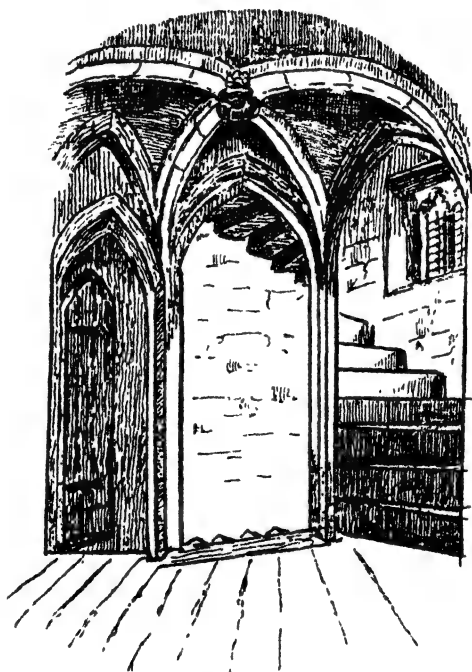
These houses, built against the south wall of the lower ward, facing St. George's Chapel, still exist, and are still used for the purpose for which they were originally intended.

There is little more to relate concerning Mary's reign. Her marriage with Philip proved a failure. Neither Mary's health nor her temper was of the best, so Philip, tiring of his wife, and aware of his own unpopularity in this country, resolved to leave England to visit other countries under his rule. He left for the Continent on the 29th of August, 1555, from where he did not return until the March of 1557. When he did it was solely for the purpose of persuading England to war against France. As soon as Philip had achieved his ends he left England, never to return.

The war proceeded unfavourably for England. Calais surrendered to the French. Mary was beset with troubles. Her

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health became worse. By November of 1558 she realized she had not long to live, so she spent her days securing recognition of Elizabeth as her successor to the Throne. On the 17th of November she died, and before noon the next day her half-sister, Elizabeth, was proclaimed Queen. So entered Windsor Castle into another glorious period in its history.



Vaulted lobby in La Rose Tower.

CHAPTER XVI

THE VIRGIN QUEEN

WITH the accession of Elizabeth to the Throne Windsor Castle became once more the gay, joyous palace it had been in the earlier part of Henry VIII's reign. Elizabeth, herself a colourful character, was soon surrounded by men just as colourful, just as picturesque—one might almost say, just as picaresque. To visualize her Court is to visualize a succession of legalized adventurers, pirates, explorers, gallants, knaves. Laughing, loving, blustering, they swagger into the picture, spend a while at Court, and then swagger out of it, some to meet death, some to gain glory, some to be executed. A mighty fine place was England in the days of Queen Bess. Then an Englishman knew himself to be a better man than half a dozen foreigners—even if the foreigners did not share his opinion. For a reason it is difficult to analyse or name Elizabeth was an inspiration to her country. At one word from her England would have faced and fought an alliance of the then Christian world—but Bess was a Tudor, a subtle, cunning Tudor who knew better than anyone how to play one enemy off against another, how to set traps for the unwary, and how to avoid stepping into those craftily laid by others.

During the past reigns—since, indeed, the reign of Edward III two hundred years previously—no great building operations seem to have been carried on at the Castle, with the exception of those on St. George's Chapel, the apartments in the "New Tower" which Henry VII had built, and the houses which were erected for the poor knights. Two hundred years is a long time for buildings to be deprived of running repairs, and it is not very surprising to find, early in Elizabeth's reign, Lord Winchester writing as follows to "Sir Will^m Cecill Knight principall Secretarie to the Quenes Ma^{tie}.":

"And forget not the articles of my last letter written to you I pray you, for reparations must needs be done at Windsor by me or some other man before the Queen's Majesty come there, assuring you there is much work to be done about the Terrace, for the Queen's going into the Park, where her highness must needs make her walk."

Later Winchester wrote another letter to Sir William Cecil, in which he revealed that much of the principal timber of the Castle was utterly decayed and would have to be repaired before the next year or it would not "continue." Later in the letter Lord Winchester asked that "the statutes may be sent and so doth the Colledge for till that statute be knowen they will not contynne good order."

If Winchester had not exaggerated the true state of affairs it seems likely that the principal timbers of the Castle did not continue the functions required of them, for, during the first ten years or so of Elizabeth's reign, nothing was done about the matter. Elizabeth had not the money to spend on repairs to the Castle—or if she had the money she knew of better ways of spending good English crowns. Winchester's request for repairs to be executed "before the next year" remained unheeded. Not so, however, the request for the statute. To send the new statutes for the College of Windsor cost no money, so these were quickly forthcoming.

Elizabeth's first visit to the Castle as Queen was probably in the autumn of 1559, when she went there in order to receive the King of Sweden, who was expected to ask for the hand of Elizabeth in marriage. King Eric, a dissipated young gentleman, was so ungallant as not to be his own envoy, he sent instead his brother John, Duke of Finland. The Duke was received at Windsor with Royal honours, and it is more than likely that Elizabeth with her customary, deceptive flattery led him to believe, at first, that his mission to England was likely to prove successful. But as she treated two other emissaries, those of the Duke of Holland and the Archduke Charles, who also pleaded her hand in marriage for their Royal masters, with similar disconcerting inconclusiveness, the Duke soon departed from Windsor, and left further negotiations to the Swedish ambassador.

In 1560 Elizabeth published a very curious proclamation in connection with Windsor, from which it would appear that in the

same manner as men were once impressed to labour at the Castle walls so, in Elizabeth's time, boys were liable to be impressed for the chapel choir. Here is the proclamation:

"Whereas our Castle of Windsor hath of old been well furnished with singing men and children. We, willing it should not be of less reputation in our days, but rather augmented and increased, declare that no singing men or boys shall be taken out of the said Chapel by virtue of any commission, not even for our Household Chapel; and we give power to the bearer of this to take any singing men or boys from any Chapel, our own Household and St. Paul's only excepted. Given at Westminster the 8th day of March, in the 2d year of our Reign.

"ELIZABETH R."

What success was achieved by the proclamation and what was the subsequent increase in the number of singing boys is, unfortunately, not recorded. Two years later Elizabeth ordered the yearly audit of the accounts of the Order of the Garter, and also brought up the number of nine poor knights—or alms knights as they were then called—appointed in Mary's reign, to thirteen. At the same time she ordered rules for the maintenance and governance of the alms knights to be drawn up, which rules were approved, and are still in force.

The following year the famous Lord Robert Dudley, who subsequently became Earl of Leicester, was appointed Constable of the Castle. Dudley's history is a romantic one, and typical of the period. He was the fifth son of the Duke of Northumberland (who was beheaded for attempting to place Lady Jane Grey on the Throne), and at the age of eighteen, or thereabouts, married Amy Robsart. He aided his father and brother in the Lady Jane Grey episode, but was ultimately pardoned for his part in the unfortunate affair. With the accession of Elizabeth to the Throne Dudley's star began to rise. Elizabeth became infatuated with the tall, dignified, and affable courtier—so much so that, at one time, she seriously thought of marrying him. Perhaps she would have done so had he been free, but his wife, Amy, was alive, so Elizabeth contented herself with flirting outrageously with him, while she granted him successive honours, one of which was the office of Constable of Windsor Castle.

Maybe it was to find relaxation from affairs of State in the

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company of her Constable that Elizabeth spent the winter of 1563 at Windsor. Her official reason was the danger of plague, which was spreading over England about that time. She was there on the 23rd of September, when Winchester wrote to Sir William Cecil advising that the Queen should not approach within twelve miles of London, adding:

"Then I note you these houses after written to serve if need require [mention of several houses].

"Langley, no good winter house, and yet my Lady's of Warwick for term of life. Homewards from Langley I cannot bring the Queen but by Reading and by Newberry, where they die. Wherein may be great peril, more than I wish should be.

"I think Her Majesty's best way, where her Highness now is in Windsor, if health there continue: though the house be cold, which may be helped with good fires. And if her Highness shall be forced to remove, as God forbid, I think then best the household be put to board wages. . . ."

About this time England was involved in the French civil war, then just beginning. On behalf of the Calvinists, Condé, their leader, offered Elizabeth Havre and Dieppe, as pledges for the restoration of Calais, in return for her help and assistance. After much delay Elizabeth sent a small army of three thousand men to France. These men first took possession of Havre, and then tried to relieve Rouen, which was besieged by Guise. The attempt was a failure. Rouen was taken by storm, and the civil war later came to a temporary halt. Elizabeth was asked to hand Havre back to France, but she refused. However, Havre was, in due course, forced to surrender through plague.

As a sequel to these events Sir Thomas Smith, the resident ambassador in France, was arrested by the French and thrown into prison. In retaliation Elizabeth placed the French envoy under restraint at Eton, and lodged other Frenchmen, hostages for the delivery of Calais, in the Castle.

These hostages became the subject of much correspondence. First of all, on the 19th of June, 1563, they persuaded a John Rybault to help them escape from their prison. This Rybault was a Frenchman who had been taken a prisoner while on his way back from Florida to France. While at the Castle he met the

Queen who was so favourably impressed by his experience and knowledge that she released him from his imprisonment and made him a pensioner. As such he planned the escape of the French prisoners, but he failed, for they "were taken; going away with John Ribald." For this escapade Rybault was once more placed in close confinement.

Some weeks afterward the hostages asked to be removed from Windsor on account of the plague—although it does not seem that the plague reached the Castle—so Cecil wrote that they should be accommodated elsewhere, but not as prisoners. However, if the hostages were heartened by this apparent interest in their welfare, then their hopes were doomed to disappointment. They were not liberated from the Castle until the following April.

Before that happened a further batch of French prisoners arrived at the Castle. These were friends of Rybault, whom he had left behind in "Terra Florida" and when he failed to return there, they "thought best to come from thence in a vessel made by themselves." On their way across the Atlantic they were captured by Thomas Stukeley, a typical specimen of an English adventurer of those days who had been commissioned to take as many French ships as he could.

Concerning these new prisoners Cecil wrote to the English ambassador in France:

"The French ambassador desiring audience on Monday, was deferred *ad incertum diem*, which he taketh grievously. But I think he shall be heard this day or to-morrow. Of late he hath conceived some offence to me upon this occasion. Stuckley staying upon his voyage into Florida, and sending some of his ships to the sea, to adventure against Frenchmen, took certain Frenchmen that were out of Florida, being of the number which Rybault left there. And being here at the court with the chiefest, he put him to liberty upon his faith, conditionally, that he should speak with no Frenchman. But yet the prisoner stole to Eton to speak with the ambassador, and Stuckley hearing thereof, sent for him, and beat him; wherewith the ambassador being offended sent to me to complain, and I rebuked Stuckley therefore roundly, although he did reasonably justify it, &c. The day following the ambassador's secretary came to know what I had done. I told him

how I had rebuked Stuckley, and what his answer was. 'Well,' quoth the Secretary, 'my master will advertise the King, who will revenge it.' 'What,' quoth I, 'Monsieur, ye are too hot, ye speak herein but foolishly,' using the word *soitement*. 'Why,' quoth he, 'call ye me a fool?' 'No,' quoth I, 'but I tell you what I think of your words.' Hereupon he departed furiously, and so the ambassador conceiveth much offence against me; but I must wear it away."

The French ambassador must have possessed a contentious nature, for on another occasion he had a tussle with the Provost of Eton, when an agent of France, visiting the ambassador, found it necessary, "after a multiplication of language on both sides," to climb over the back gate of the college to get to his lodgings, because the front gates had been shut, by the Provost's orders.

Then, says Strype, "Two or three others, disposed to do the like, came back to the provost's door with the ambassador's servants, and brake open his door upon him perforce with a form; and the ambassador, with a sword in his hand, though not drawn out of the scabbard, was the first that entered, and Du Bois, his secretary with another sword; and took the provost violently out of his chamber, having but one young scholar in his company, and took the keys, and opened the gates at their pleasure.

"In the morning the ambassador sent two of his servants unto the secretary, to complain of the provost, fashioning a tale of the provost's refusal: with a remembrance, by the way, that they were forced to break open the door. The secretary answered, that he would send for the provost, and hear him also; and if it should appear that he used himself otherwise than became him, he should bear the blame. Which speech of his they liked not; but said, he was partial to the provost, and suddenly departed. Being scarcely gone from the chamber, they met the provost coming to the secretary to complain, as he had cause. And the Frenchmen passing out of the Castle [of Windsor] met with two of the provost's men, whose hearts, as it seems, did rise against them for misusing their master; and so they fell to some quarrelling, and drawing of their swords. But there was no hurt on either part. Upon this the Frenchmen came back to the Secretary's chamber with another cry; and finding the provost with him, who knew nothing of the matter, the secretary sent for the

knight marshal, to examine the matter; and if he saw cause, to commit the provost's men to prison; which though the marshal found no great cause, yet it was ordered so to be. After this fray, the ambassador sent to have audience, alleging that he desired to speak with the Queen before Malvisier should depart: and perceiving that it was but about that brabbling matter, he was deferred until Monday, considering the festival days of Christmas. Wherewith he was nettled, and sent Malvisier away.

"Upon this it was meant, that the ambassador should be removed from Eton, and be taught to provide his lodgings with his own money, as the English ambassador did in France."

When the hostages were finally released in the following April Elizabeth expressed her deep annoyance with one of them in particular, whose name appears to have been Nantoillet, because of his "provoking evil subjects to be worse in Popery. But her Majesty concluded that she would wrap up all such oblivion because of peace."

During this same winter Elizabeth spent a considerable number of hours in continuing her studies under the tutorship of Roger Ascham. Besides studying Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, "she readeth here now at Windsore more Greek every day, than some Prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that which is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her Privy-chamber she hath obtained that excellence of learning, to understand, speak and write, both wittily with head and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the universities have in many years reached unto."

Yet Elizabeth did not spend all her time studying. The Queen was a great huntswoman, who could bring down "a great and fatt stagge killed with her owne hand." Like her father she could outlast most of her subjects, who became weak in the knees while she was still comparatively fresh. She was also a great walker, and fond of fresh air. Rarely a day passed that she did not, at some period or other, walk for an hour or more, no matter what the state of the weather; only a high wind is said to have deterred her. Even rain she did not mind, for then she used an umbrella. In the vicinity of the Castle her favourite walk, it seems, was along the path in the park which passed by the oak tree which had been associated with Herne the Hunter. To-day this walk is still known as Queen Elizabeth's Walk.

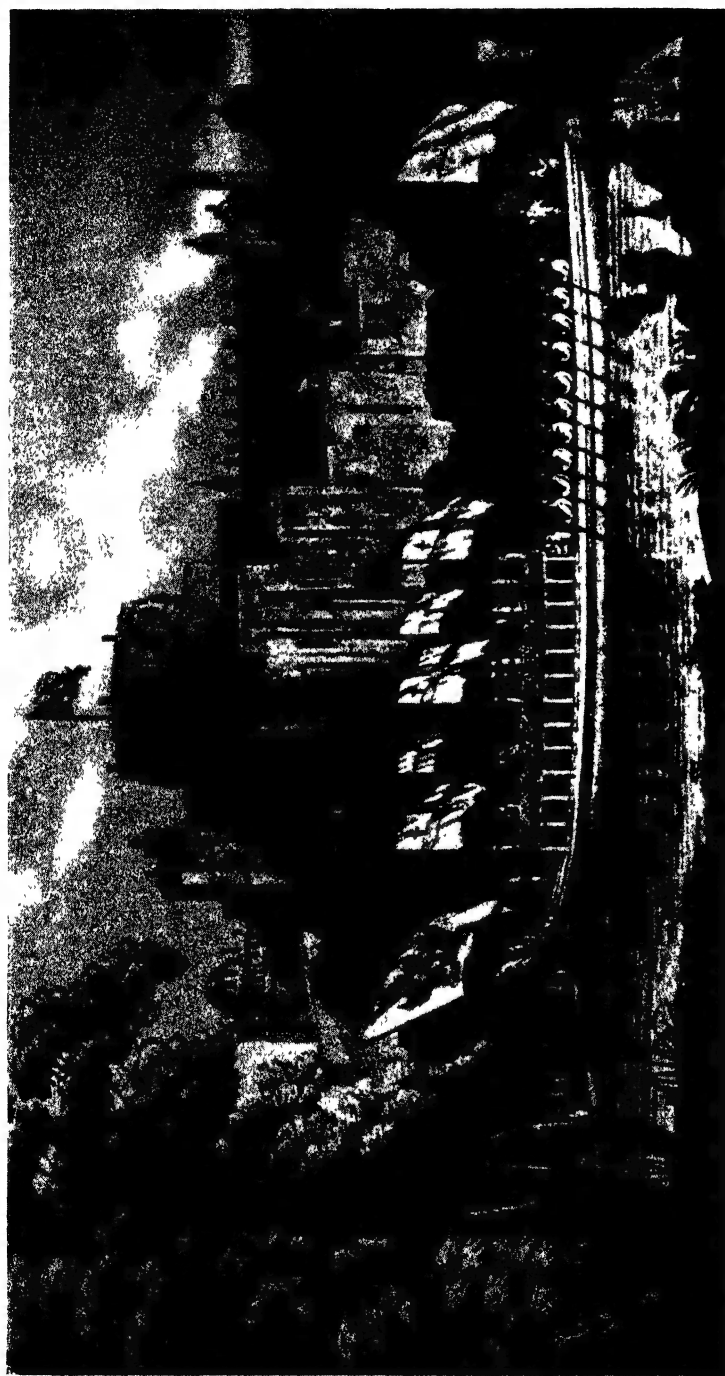
On other occasions, surrounded by a gay company, she was

THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

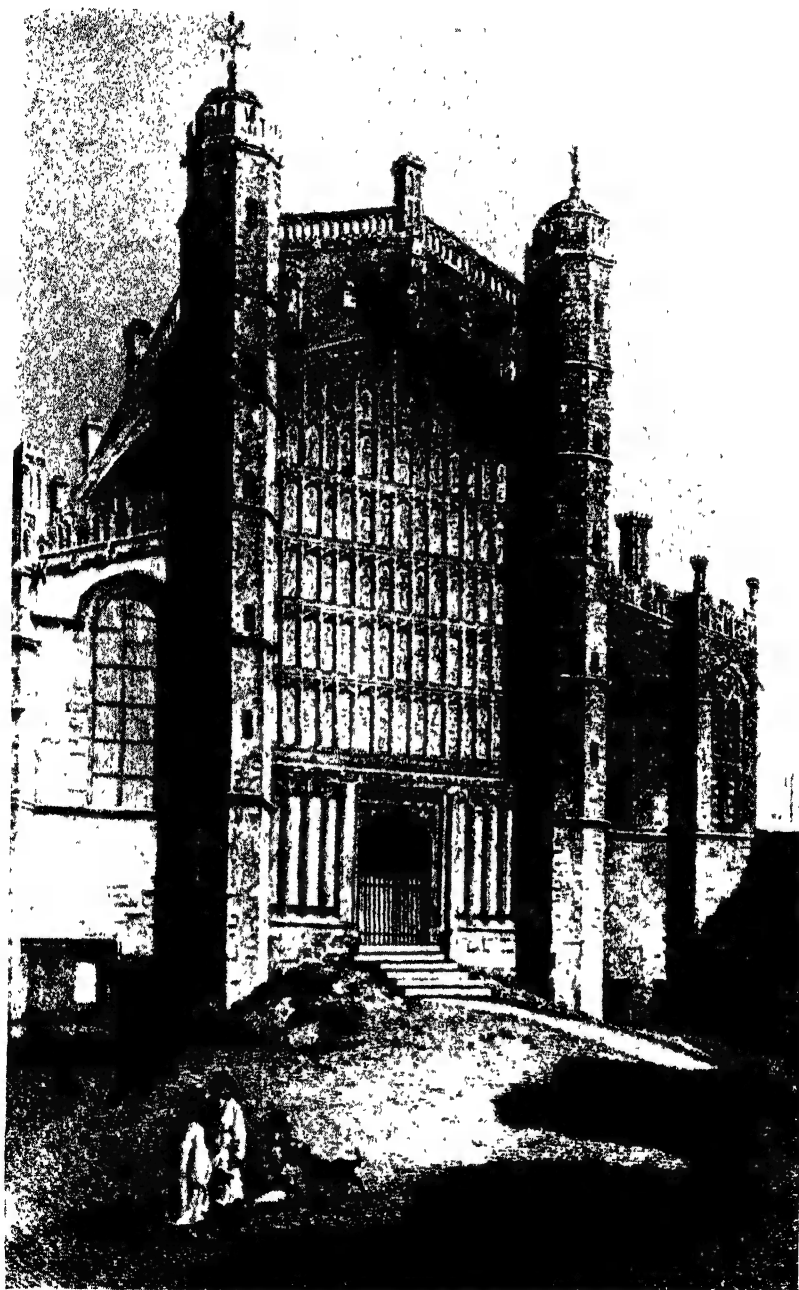
often rowed up and down the river in the Royal barge which was propelled by watermen clad in the picturesque scarlet and gold uniforms which are still worn by the King's Watermen. In the evenings she sometimes played upon the virginals, or danced, or listened eagerly to a "disguising," or listened, with still greater eagerness, to stories of how her adventurers, the Raleighs, Drakes, Hawkinse and Frobishers had scoured the high seas searching for ships belonging to the Spanish King which they could rob and plunder for treasure. Because she was financially interested in the rich dividends thus earned such stories were doubly sweet to Elizabeth's ears.

Elizabeth, appreciative of drama only when it was "broad" enough to titillate her meagre sense of humour, was no patron of the arts. She left the encouragement of arts to the Earl of Leicester, to whom, it must gladly be admitted, thanks are due for the rich store of Elizabethan drama which, fortunately, has been preserved for posterity. Leicester organized a company of play actors, known as "Lord Leicester's Men," and upon many occasions this company performed before the Queen. Tradition has it that Shakespeare wrote his famous comedy, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, at Elizabeth's command, and that she was so anxious to see it acted that she ordered it to be finished within fourteen days. Shakespeare, then in his twenty-ninth year, faithfully fulfilled all that was expected of him. He wrote a play about Windsor, the play was first produced at Windsor Castle, and—most important fact of all—the Queen was very well pleased with the play.

To be a courtier at Elizabeth's Court was no sinecure. Elizabeth was a temperamental woman, subject to whims and moods. Upon occasions her judgment was intensely masculine; but, at other times, she was all woman, and her mood would thread its way through a fantastically involved maze of feminine complexities utterly beyond the comprehension of the more direct male. For this reason men who were regarded with favour one day, the following day often found themselves in disfavour. Her courtiers had to walk warily, and if once they offended her, the utmost tact was necessary if they wished to recover lost ground. One of the easiest ways of affronting her was to marry. She treated as a personal insult to herself the marriage of a courtier, or that of a lady of her Court. A letter from a son of Lord Hunsdon is illustrative of this curious fanaticism.



ie Royal Barge passing Windsor Castle



Exterior of St. George's Chapel

"Having ended my business, I meant to return to Carlisle again. My Father wrote to me from Windsor, that the Queen meant to have a great Triumph there on her Coronation-day, and that there was great preparation making for the course of the Field and Tourney. He gave me notice of the Queen's anger for my marriage, and said it may be, I being so near, and to return without honouring her day, as I ever before had done, might be a cause of her further dislike; but left it to myself to do what I thought best. My business of Law therefore being ended, I came to Court, (Windsor) and lodged there very privately; only I made myself known to my Father and some few friends besides. I here took order and sent to London to provide me things necessary for the Triumph. I prepared a present for her Majesty, which, with my caparisons, cost me above four hundred pounds. I came in to the Triumph unknown of any. I was the forsaken Knight, that had vowed solitariness; but hearing of this great Triumph, thought to honour my Mistress with my best service, and then to return to pay my wonted mourning. The Triumph ended, and all things well passed over to the Queen's liking, I then made myself known in Court; and for the time I stayed there was daily conversant with my old companions and friends: but I made no long stay."

This dislike for marriage even affected the priests of the College of Windsor, for in the early part of her reign Elizabeth ordered that all the priests of the college that had wives "should put them out of the College, and for time to come to be no more within that place."

Another marriage which outraged Elizabeth was that of the youngest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk. Once again one of Sir William Cecil's letters is the source of information. Cecil writes from Windsor: "Here is an unhappy chance and monstrous. The Sergeant Porter, being the biggest gentleman in this Court, hath married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the Court. They are committed to separate prisons. The offence is very great."

Elizabeth carried out the long overdue repairs to the Castle, and for this one must be grateful to her. But before doing so she had a statute passed, which one must deplore. In 1567 the annual Feast of the Order of the Garter was abolished, and there-

after, during the remainder of this reign, only one more festival was held there. It was soon after this rather sad statute had been carried that Elizabeth began to consider taking the active steps necessary for the preservation of the Castle buildings.

Work on the extensive repairs began on the 6th of June, 1570, and was continued until the 31st of October, the following year. During these sixteen months: "First the Chapel being very old, ruinous and far out of order ready to fall down was so sore decayed and especially in the roof that it was underset with props for which causes the timber work was thoroughly searched and mended with plates brasses rafters and quarters which roof would not have been made new for £551. And much iron work to strengthen the same withal added. And the old lead was taken off and new cast and laid again with much new lead put thereunto, and all the gutters and windows about the said chapel were new made and leaded over, and the Carvers' work and Joiners' work that was in the said roof and Chapel was so old and rotten that when it was taken down it would not serve again, so that the same Chapel is now clean altered both in timber work leading carving Joining turning painting gilding glazing wainscoting and paving the same through and making of new stalls in the choir new doors windows stairs partitions a Vestry a Closet for her Majesty with chimneys and divers other works which is not seen as making up of a stone wall on the north side of the Chapel which was broken down in divers places by reason of the decay thereof and alteration of it that otherwise would have fallen down.

"Item taking away the little stairs going up to the great chamber and making a large new window a stair with a large passage to the great Chamber and one other fair large way for her Majesty to go to her Closet and an other passage from the closet to the Chapel set on both sides with pilasters with fair windows to the same and setting up her Majesty's arms over the gate entering the great Chamber.

"Item the enlarging of the scullery that was too little and making new floors partitions windows and a Chimney and boiling place to the same and the bringing in of water to it.

"Item alterations and works done in the cellar as beating down the stone walls to make an arch, windows, doors and a chimney, and the making up of the same and making a dining place for the chief officers of the cellar to sit in whiles they give their attendance.

"Item the taking down of one of the four great turrets of the Castle that standeth at the present Chamber end over the wardrobe of the robes that was utterly decayed and ready to fall down and making up the same again and covering it with lead.

"Item the taking down of a great part of the wardrobe house that was decayed and ready to fall down and the making and setting up of a new frame in the place thereof with divers partitions and rooms as also new tiling ripping flooring ceiling paving and glazing thereof.

"Item the making of a new wall and a bridge in the middle ward and the Coping and covering of the same with free stone.

"Item the Lodgings and offices within the said Castle were so far out of order and in decay that there was much work bestowed thereof against the Queen's Majesty's last being at Windsor and whilst her highness was there both in glazing of windows matting of lodgings mending the leads conduit pipes vault and chimneys which were broken in divers places, mending of ranges in the kitchen Ovens in the bakehouse chimneys and partitions shelves benches tables trestles and forms in divers other lodgings and offices and mending and scouring of Vaults sinks and privy places.

"Item the works done in my lord Admiral's lodging in raising all the floor and laying in timber there where the other was rotten and ready to fall down / repairing the maids of honours lodgings / the buttery and my Lord of Burliess lodging / as also in divers other place whilst her majesty there remained (that is not here mentioned *added*)."

The same document that particularized the work already done also drew attention to other "most needful" repairs. It appears that the stone Tower, which "adjoins to my Lord of Hunsden's and Mr. Henage's lodgings" and directly faced the Queen's lodgings, was needing new stonework to replace that which had fallen down, and new timber, the old being "altogether rotten, so that if the same be not speedily repaired the rest will also fall." The great bridge, by which one gained admittance into the Castle, also appears to have been so ruinous that it was liable to immediate collapse, and the clerk of the works suggested that the new bridge should be of stone. These remarks applied equally to the second bridge into the middle ward, while the vaults underneath the Queen's Majesty's lodgings were "decayed and needed speedily to be repaired." As for the Tower "where

Mr. Sackfoule of the privy chamber lay" it was cleft asunder. The clerk finishes by saying that "many other needful places are to be speedily repaired."

These "many other needful places" referred to the Terrace, which was in "very great ruin," with timber work which would not last another year; the great "decayed" Tower by the wood-yard, which was ready to fall down; the various galleries and walls which could not stand long without mending; the Rubbish bridge, which was in a like condition to the other bridges; the Garter Tower "in great decay," the roof of the hall and the great kitchen; Winchester Tower, also in "great ruin"; vaults, floors, roofs, the water-pipes, roads, part of the Constable's lodging, the Keep, the Tennis Court—all these things were either "in great decay," or "great ruin," or not likely to last another year.

Indeed the picture drawn in the documents penned by the clerk of the works, one Humphrey Mitchell, is an extremely dismal one, and if the buildings were as bad as Master Mitchell stated, one imagines the Castle in the last stage of delapidation—buildings falling to pieces, towers split asunder, bridges so shaky that one must have trembled to pass over them, vaults unsteady. The most surprising fact about the Castle is that anyone dared to venture inside its walls, let alone entertain foreign envoys there! With everything in such a state of ruination and decay one can conceive of an extra heavy slam of a door bringing down a tower, or causing a timbered floor to give way, precipitating those upon it into vaults just as dangerous. A palace fit for a Queen seems to have been the last description applicable to the Castle at that time. Perhaps good Queen Bess and her numerous Court were remarkably good "troopers."

Accounts show that work on these repairs was duly performed. The bridges were taken down and rebuilt, turrets were taken down and reset, roofs were releaded, a "subterranean way" was constructed, burst and shattered pipes were made good. Even so, this was not enough. Later Master Mitchell again takes up his alarming tale:

"The roof over the cellar gate wherein Mr. Vice-chamberlain lieth the lead thereof is so thin and in so many places soldered that it breaketh often, and raineth through into the lodgings rotting the timber thereof must be new cast.

"The timber work over the Arches of the bridges in the

Walk is greatly decayed and propped up and would be new vaulted.

"The vaults which carrieth the water from the Castle down the hill the brickwork thereof being broken in many places and lying open would be amended.

"The common privy would be new made for without the same be done, it will breed great annoyance to the house.

"The foundation of the brick wall of the woodyard is greatly decayed, and will be the decay of the whole wall if it be not amended.

"The foundation of the Castle wall between the garter tower and the Prebend's orchard is decayed in sundry places and will be the decay of the same wall if speedy amendment be not had.

"The Maids of Honour desire to have their chamber ceiled and the Partition that is of boards there to be made higher for that their servants look over.

"Sir Edmond Carey desireth to have a part of the Chamber being appointed for the Squires of the body to be ceiled overhead and boarded underfoot for that it is so ruinous and cold.

"Also on the south side of the Castle the wall near unto the spouts of lead is (by reason of some breach in them) decayed and therefore the spouts and wall to be amended.

"Also the Painted gallery is so much decayed both in the lead and timber as most of it must be new builded and covered or taken away at your Lordship's good pleasure.

"It pleased your Lordship to like that the wainscot over the windows in the great chamber should be ripped for that it drowneth the light wherein it may please your Lordship to signify your pleasure.

"And to avoid the filthiness of the Castle ditch used from the rubbish bridge to the town gate it may please your Lordship that such a wall may be made all along that way in such form and height as that wall from the rubbish bridge to the park.

"The new gate going into the Park by Her Majesty's commandment must be garnished with some pyramids or standing beasts.

"The Conduit pipes are in many places broken and decayed as they fail to bring home the water some of them must be new cast and other some soldered and mended.

"The conduit itself is greatly decayed and the timber work on which the Cistern standeth so rotten as the weight of the water on it maketh the cistern to shrink and thereby to crack oftentimes."

In 1574 began the construction of the terrace by the north wing of the upper ward. This was made to enable the Queen more easily to gain the Little Park for her daily walk. This not very ambitious project was not finished by November, 1576, for in that month and year Mitchell wrote: "Albeit I feared that I should have wanted money to finish the groundwork of the Terrace yet I have done that hard to the College wall . . . but for that Her Majesty said she would have a gallery made at the one end of the Terrace, and a banqueting house at the other end this next year, if Her Majesty be still of that mind, it were good that this winter the work were set forward, wherein I know I could save much, for even now I am offered a bargain of Heddington stone at the quarry for the windows ready scabbed wherein there would be saved a third part. . . . So that if it be Her Majesty's pleasure to have it so; the whole Terrace may be finished before the beginning of May next for her to see if happily she chance to remove to Windsor in the beginning of summer."

Mitchell's estimates, notes, letters, and accounts of work done make interesting reading, but there are altogether too many documents to be included in this work, which purports to be a document of personalities rather than one of "sticks and stones." Let it suffice, therefore, to leave now the technical part of the building operations, and let Hentzner, the German traveller, describe in his own words the result of many years' labour, and the expenditure of many thousands of pounds.

"There are three principal and very large courts in Windsor Castle, which give great pleasure to the beholders: the first is enclosed with most elegant buildings of white stone, flat-roofed, and covered with lead; here the Knights of the Garter are lodged; in the middle is a detached house, remarkable for its high tower, which the governor inhabits. In this is the public kitchen, well furnished with proper utensils, besides a spacious dining-room, where all the poor Knights eat at the same table, for into this Society of the Garter, the

King and sovereign elects, at his own choice, certain persons, who must be gentlemen of three descents, and such as, for their age and the straitness of their fortunes, are fitter for saying their prayers than for the service of war; to each of them is assigned a pension of eighteen pounds per annum and clothes: the chief institutions of so magnificent a foundation is, that they should say their daily prayers to God for the King's safety, and the happy administration of the kingdom, to which purpose they attend the service, meeting twice every day at chapel. The left side of this court is ornamented by a most magnificent chapel of one hundred and forty-four paces in length, and sixteen in breadth; in this are eighteen seats fitted up in the time of Edward III for an equal number of Knights: this venerable building is decorated with the noble monuments of Edward IV, Henry VI and VIII, and of his wife Queen Jane. It receives from Royal liberality the annual income of two thousand pounds, and that still much increased by the munificence of Edward III and Henry VII. The greatest princes in Christendom have taken it for the highest honour to be admitted into the Order of the Garter; and since its first institution about twenty kings, besides those of England, who are the sovereigns of it, not to mention dukes and persons of the greatest figure, have been of it. It consists of twenty-six Companions. . . .

"The second Court of Windsor Castle stands upon higher ground, and is enclosed with walls of great strength, and beautified with fine buildings and a Tower; it was an ancient castle, of which old annals speak in this manner: King Edward, A.D. 1359, began a new building in that part of the Castle of Windsor where he was born; for which reason he took care it should be decorated with larger and finer devices than the rest. In this part were kept prisoners John King of France, and David King of Scots, over whom Edward triumphed at one and the same time: it was by their advice, struck with the advantage of its situation, and with the sums paid for their ransom, that by degrees this Castle stretched to such magnificence, as to appear no longer a fortress, but a town of proper extent, and inexpugnable to any human force; this particular part of the Castle was built at the sole expense of the King of Scotland, except one tower, which, from its having been erected by the Bishop of Winchester, Prelate of

the Order, is called Winchester Tower¹; there are a hundred steps to it, so ingeniously contrived that horses can easily ascend them; it is a hundred and fifty paces in circuit; within it are preserved all manner of arms necessary for the defence of the place.

"The third court is much the largest of any, built at the expense of the captive King of France; as it stands higher, so it greatly excels the two former in splendour and elegance; it is one hundred and forty-eight paces in length, and ninety-seven in breadth; in the middle of it is a fountain of very clear water, brought under ground, at an excessive expense, from the distance of four miles. Towards the east are magnificent apartments destined for the Royal household; towards the west is a tennis-court for the amusement of the Court; on the north side are the Royal apartments, consisting of magnificent chambers, halls, and bathing-rooms, and a private chapel, the roof of which is embellished with golden roses and fleurs-de-lis: in this, too, is that very large banqueting-room, seventy-eight paces long, and thirty wide, in which the Knights of the Garter annually celebrate the memory of their titular saint, St. George, with a solemn and most pompous service.

"From thence runs a walk of incredible beauty, three hundred and eighty paces in length, set round on every side with supporters of wood, which sustain a balcony, from whence the nobility and persons of distinction can take the pleasure of seeing hunting and hawking in a lawn of sufficient space; for the fields and meadows, clad with variety of plants and flowers, swell gradually into hills of perpetual verdure quite up to the Castle, and at bottom stretch out in an extended plain, that strikes the beholders with delight.

"Besides what has been already mentioned, there are worthy of notice here two bathing-rooms, ceiled and wainscoted with looking-glass; the chamber in which Henry VI was born; Queen Elizabeth's bed-chamber, where is a table of red marble with white streaks; a gallery everywhere ornamented with emblems and figures; a chamber in which are the Royal beds of Henry VII and his Queen, of Edward VI, of Henry VIII; and of Anne Bullen, all of them eleven feet square, and covered with quilts shining with gold and silver; Queen Elizabeth's bed, with curious coverings of embroidery, but not quite so long or large as the others; a

¹ This is confounded with the round tower.

piece of tapestry, in which is represented Clovis, King of France, with an angel presenting to him the fleurs-de-lis, to be borne in his arms; for before his time the kings of France bore three toads in their shield, instead of which they afterwards placed three fleurs-de-lis on a blue field; this antique tapestry is said to have been taken from a king of France, while the English were masters there. We were shown here, among other things, the horn of a unicorn, of above eight spans and a half in length, valued at above £10,000; the bird of paradise, three spans long, three fingers broad, having a blue bill of the length of half an inch, the upper part of its head yellow, the nether part of a . . . colour¹; a little lower from either side of its throat stick out some reddish feathers, as well as from its back and the rest of its body; its wings of a yellow colour are twice as long as the bird itself; from its back grow out lengthways two fibres or nerves, bigger at their ends, but like a pretty strong thread, of a leaden colour, inclining to black, with which, as it has no feet, it is said to fasten itself to trees, when it wants to rest; a cushion most curiously wrought by Queen Elizabeth's own hands. . . ."

The works at the Castle did not keep Elizabeth away from Windsor. She was there in November of 1575, when she received a visit from the Earl of Essex. She was there for the summer of 1577, taking refuge from the plague which was raging in London. When the Earl of Sussex invited the Queen to visit him about this time the Earl of Leicester replied:

"My good Lord, I have shewed your letter to her Majesty, who did take your great care to have her welcome to your house in most kind and gracious part, thanking your Lordship many times: albeit she saith very earnestly, that she wil by no meanes come this time to Newhal, saying it were no reason, and less good manners, having so short warning this year to trouble you; and was very loth to have come into these parts at al, but to fly the further from the infected places, and charged me so to let your Lordship know; that by no means she would have you prepare for her this time. Nevertheless, my Lord, for mine own opinion, I believe she will hunt and visit your house, coming so neer. Herein you may use the matter accordingly, since she would have you not look for her.

¹ The original is *optici*; it is impossible to guess what colour he meant.

"And now my Lord, we all do what we can to persuade from any progress at all, only to remain at Winsor, and therabouts. But it much misliketh her not to go somewher to have change of air. So what will fal out yet, I know not, but most like to go forward, since she fancieth it so greatly herself."

Leicester never spoke truer words than those contained in the second paragraph of that letter. Elizabeth never remained in any one spot for long. The perennial joke about the one bed in England which was *not* slept in by Queen Elizabeth is, naturally, one of those exaggerations so much to the taste of Anglo-Saxon humour. Nevertheless, Elizabeth probably slept in more different beds than any other English sovereign. During her reign she made a very considerable number of visits and journeys to different parts of her kingdom, and crafty Bess Tudor had more than one good reason for making these journeys or "progresses."

Between them Henry VII and Henry VIII had broken the power of the nobles and had established the supremacy of the sovereign. Thoroughly though those two monarchs had accomplished their task Elizabeth was ever mindful that extreme riches might enable a subject to regain that power, and so to challenge her supremacy as sovereign. Riches have always represented power. With money one could, in those days, buy active allegiance. The increase of trade and commerce, the discovery of hitherto unknown countries, the abundance of gold, and the piracy of treasure from Spanish galleons was, in Elizabethan times, making all England wealthy. But, as is inevitable, a number of individuals profited beyond all others.

As soon as Elizabeth judged that any one subject was becoming too rich, with true Tudor guile, she would set out on one of her famous Progresses, and it would have as its destination the home of that subject. On these Progresses she was invariably accompanied by a huge suite which her unfortunate host was compelled to feed and entertain for as long as Elizabeth cared to stay. As one such honoured, but unfortunate, host complained:

"The Queen visited my house at Mitcham, and supped and lodged there, and dined there next day. I presented her with a gown of cloth of silver richly embroidered; a black net-work mantle with pure gold; a taffeta hat, white, with several flowers, and a jewel of gold set therein with rubies

and diamonds. Her Majesty removed from my house after dinner the 13th of September to Nonsuch, with exceeding good contentment; which entertainment of Her Majesty, with the former disappointment, amounted to £700 sterling, besides mine own provisions, and what was sent unto me by my friends."

On another occasion the Queen, when staying at the Castle, visited Sir Edward Coke. Coke was happy to entertain Her Majesty, but the sumptuous feast which he gave in her honour, together with a present of jewels and other gifts, cost him a sum amounting to nearly twelve hundred pounds. With one day's entertainment costing a matter of seven hundred to twelve hundred pounds it is not difficult to understand that a longer visit from Elizabeth could indeed be ruinous!

Yet these Progresses also served another purpose. The Queen saw to it that they were as public as possible, and when the common people, attracted by the spectacle of the Queen being borne in a litter, and surrounded by ladies and gentlemen of the Court, drew nigh to her she always received them with cordiality; listening to their entertainments and their troubles, righting their wrongs, rewarding them and recompensing them. In this way she endeared herself to her subjects as no other monarch, save perhaps Edward IV, had ever done.

So the years passed by, years that were rather cruel to the Virgin Queen, for as she grew older she became a lonely woman. What superficial attraction she once possessed, gradually vanished. Her face grew wrinkled, so, too, her bosom which, as though too hot, she was so fond of exposing "that all her belly can be seen,"¹ Her old friends aged with her, then died before her, insolent Leicester, faithful Burghley, audacious Essex. She still visited Windsor Castle. There she received Turenne, sent by Henry IV of France, who wanted to borrow money from her, there she spent the winter of 1593, translating Boethius, there she spent her last autumn. The following year, 1603, she died, on the 28th of April, 1603, in her seventieth year.

With the last of the Tudors dead, a Scotsman ascended the English throne—James VI of Scotland, James I of England. Windsor was soon to see the first of the unhappy Stuarts.

¹ Which, surely, should have been sufficient proof of the baselessness of the rumour that "he" was a male changeling!

CHAPTER XVII

JAMES OF SCOTLAND

TO study the characteristics of the sovereigns of the Stuart Line after having made the acquaintance of their predecessors, the Tudors, points a distressing comparison, for the Stuarts lacked that single-minded purpose of maintaining the independent supremacy of England, with the result that their rule was one of successive humiliations for this country both at home and abroad. The Tudors had many faults, many vices. Not one of them could pretend to be an example of nobility. They were all (with the exception, naturally, of Edward VI) tyrannical, mean, intensely jealous of rivals, and crafty. But they were sovereigns, men and women of character and firm will. They admitted their ambitions and pursued the paths which each one had marked out for himself with a relentless and unscrupulous determination which carried them forward to their goals. How different the Stuarts. The Stuarts were not the warriors that the monarchs of old had been; they were not the diplomats that the Tudors had been. Where the Tudors had been kings, the Stuarts were courtiers. Where the Tudors had been forthright, the Stuarts were vacillating. Where the Tudors made use of their favourites, the Stuarts were governed by theirs. The Tudors took what they wanted, by force if necessary, sturdily prepared to stand or fall by their actions, the Stuarts, lacking such forthright courage to achieve their desires, stooped to accept foreign subsidies and secret bribes. The Tudors were often mean, but never contemptible; in all issues they placed their country first, but the Stuarts betrayed the very heritage which they sought to prove divine.

The truth is that the Stuarts should never have been kings. They were not fitted to rule. Their ears were not instinctively attuned to hear and interpret the wishes of their subjects (though exile taught Charles II a certain crafty wariness) and when such

wishes were forced upon their notice they deliberately flouted public opinion by upholding their inflated notions of the sanctity of their high estate.

James Stuart ascended the English Throne by virtue of his descent from Henry VII. Henry VII, it will be remembered, had for his first child Prince Arthur, who married Catherine of Aragon, for his second, Henry VIII, whose successors became extinct when Elizabeth died, and for his third, Princess Margaret, who married James IV of Scotland. James IV was the father of James V. James V was the father of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Mary was the mother of James VI who, as a result of the enforced abdication of his mother, became King of the Scots at the age of twelve months.

The childhood and early manhood of James scarcely merits inclusion here, since his rule had been in no way conspicuous or particularly effective. He was an excellent scholar, but recognition of his own erudition merely made him an intellectual prig. When Elizabeth died he was not quite thirty-seven years of age. Within a few days of his being proclaimed King of England he left Edinburgh and proceeded to his new kingdom—ordering, *en route*, a petty criminal to be hanged without trial, in the belief that the powers of the King of England were limitless.

One of the first places to be visited by James after his arrival in England was Windsor Castle. He was there on the 22nd of June, for on that day a letter from Thomas Wilson to Sir Thomas Parry at Paris informed the English Ambassador that the King was then at Windsor. Wilson's letter contains more than that information, however. In a few lines this correspondent portrays the King's character with surprising exactitude.

"Our virtuous King," writes the divine, "makes our hopes to swell. His actions suitable to the time and his natural disposition. Sometimes he comes to Counsel, but most time he spends in fields and parks and chases, chasing away idleness by violent exercise and early rising, wherein the sun seldom prevents him. The people, according to the honest English nature, approve all their Prince's actions and words, saving that they desire some more of that gracious affability which their good old Queen did afford them."

Later in the reign that lack of affability was to make the people have less cause than ever for liking the new King, but in the meantime James had already made a bad beginning to his reign

by choosing as his councillors only men whose political views agreed with his own, and by neglecting to attend the meetings of those councillors.

Although the King was at the Castle on the 22nd of June he seems to have left there again on the 25th for, on that day, he proceeded to Towcester where he met his wife and eldest son and accompanied them back to Windsor. He arrived there with a large train of Scottish lords and ladies, to find a great number of English lords and ladies waiting to do honour to their new Queen. For a time it seemed as though the accommodation at the Castle and in the town would be insufficient for the large gathering, and in the scramble for rooms many quarrels broke out between the English and the Scottish lords, occasioned, no doubt, as much by international jealousies as by lack of room. For the most part these quarrels temporarily simmered down, but one, which took place in the Queen's presence, was more serious. The offending parties were Lord Grey of Wilton and the Earl of Southampton. These two men were both Englishmen, but their quarrel was of long standing, and of a political source. When high words resulted the Queen bade them remember where they were, but they must have persisted for, later, they were commanded to return to their respective lodgings, and guards were posted. The following day they were condemned by the Council to be sent to the Tower, but, upon their agreeing to a reconciliation, James subsequently set them at liberty.

The King's stay at the Castle upon this occasion must have been one of continual friction, for renewed bickering took place at the installation of Prince Henry as Knight of the Garter. So many nobles were staying at Windsor at that time, and so intense was the rivalry between them, that all desired to attend the ceremony. In consequence of thus being faced with a vast concourse of people, the King ordered that no Knight should have more than fifty attendants at the ceremony. Ashmole gives as the reason for this command the King's wish to save expenditure, but the Bishop of Gloucester has a different explanation to offer. "It is true," he says, "in the time of Queen Elizabeth, at the feast of St. George, when many of the lords were present, and every one had a multitude of servants, and all of them in their chains of gold (and at that time of the year very often some ambassadors were wont to come to London, and the merchants to entertain those ambassadors which came to treat

for trading; I do believe that at some times I have seen very near ten thousand chains of gold stirring); but when the King came in, he was desirous to bestow the Order of the Garter upon Scotsmen. Whatsoever they might do in their own country I know not, but here they had not such numbers of tenants and attendants as might any way equal the number of the English; and lest this might be observed and so make them the less respected, it pleased the King that no knight should exceed the number of fifty servants."

This first installation of James's reign seems to have been a particularly brilliant one, for not only was Prince Henry installed as a Knight, but with him were installed the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Pembroke. At the same time the King of Denmark and the Duke of Wertenberg were elected. Describing the womenfolk Howe says there were present "divers other right noble and honourable Ladies, whose names I knew not, being all of them most sumptuous in apparel, and exceeding rich and glorious in jewels like the wearers."

Possibly one of the most curious anecdotes of this reign happened very soon after James's first visit to the Castle. A comparatively trifling matter of a breach in the wall brought about a long controversy between the Crown and the Dean and Chapter of St. George's Chapel—the consequences of which affect some visitors to the Castle to this day.

About the middle of the afternoon of the 4th of December, 1603, the outer wall of the Castle adjoining the Canons' houses suddenly collapsed. Immediate repairs were called for, but when the question arose as to who was responsible for the rebuilding, an unexpected obstacle to early repair was raised by the King, who denied responsibility on the grounds that the founder of the Chapel, having built the Chapel and houses for the Dean and the Canons, had endowed them with lands to maintain themselves and repair their dwellings. The King further argued that, as the houses of the Canons could not stand without the wall in question, and as the Canons had claimed and established possession of the wall by opening windows in it, and building drains under it—which had been the cause of the wall's decay—it was the Canons' responsibility to keep that part of the Castle which had been granted to them in a good state of repair.

To this argument the Dean and Chapter responded that the

wall was more ancient than the foundation of the college, that it was higher than the adjoining houses, that it was built with battlements for the defence of the Castle, that they had no property in it, that they were discharged from repairs to the Castle by the terms of Edward III's charter, and that the decay of the wall was in no way caused by any act of theirs, but solely by lapse of time. Further, argued the reverend gentlemen, if they were to agree in this instance to repair the wall their concession might be accepted as a precedent whereby they might be called upon to repair more of the Castle walls than they had the means to perform.

This controversy dragged on for more than two years before it was legally settled at Serjeants' Inn on the 21st of February, 1606. The Dean and Chapter won the day, for the judges declared that the wall should be restored at the charge of the King, but that he should give to the Canons' houses all lights and easements they had anciently enjoyed.

The Dean and Chapter were probably jubilant at the decision of the judges, but without good reason. They forgot Heywood's warning that one can take a horse to water without necessarily being able to make the animal drink. In pursuance of the judges' finding the Lord Treasurer issued orders for the repairs to be effected forthwith—but the order was ignored. The years dragged and nothing was done. Eleven years later one of the Canons spoke of a bribe of £100, paid by the Dean and Chapter to a nobleman at Court as an inducement to him to use his interest in the matter:

"And now I will give you another instance, in building the walls of mine own house. The Church of Windsor stands within the Castle of Windsor; our houses did abut or were contiguous to the walls of the Castle; the walls fell, whereby the house was not habitable; we petitioned the King, we had commissions out of the Exchequer, and many orders, that repairing was to be at the King's charge, yet still we could get nothing done; we lost time and expense in soliciting the business: at length, sitting in chapter, one of our Canons made a speech to this purpose: 'The times are such that we Churchmen are thought to be very simple and weak in judgment in respect of lawyers and great officers, and the reason is because our wit is bounded with honesty, whereas theirs having no such bounds and limitations, it seems therefore to be of a larger extent than ours.

Not to speak, then, what is fit to be done, but to speak according to the ordinary practice of the world, men must now bribe that they may have and enjoy their own; and therefore, instead of letters, or making means or friends, I could wish that one might buy a purse and put in it one hundred pieces, and present it to such a great officer, and desire his favour.' The Dean and the rest of the Canons, being wearied and tired out with soliciting the business, hearkened to this man's motion, and it was concluded that the Dean in his own person should present the money, only with this message, that the Church of Windsor, remembering their humble duties and service to his lordship, made bold, according to their poor abilities, to present his lordship with a small token, which they did humbly desire his lordship to accept, and to afford them his lawful favour in such a business. The Dean did perform the message accordingly, and the lord received the money and said nothing to him. The Dean, at his return, as the manner is, instantly called a chapter, to give an account of the business, and there gave his account, that he had done all things punctually according to their desires, and that the lord did not speak one word to him, neither did he add one word but according to his commission; 'Indeed,' said he, 'I thought something more, I confess; but that was private to myself.' 'Then,' quoth one of the Canons, 'Mr. Dean, we must have *quid pro quo*: we have parted with our monies, and if we have not actions yet we must have words; and if we have not words, it is fit we should have thoughts; and therefore, to deal plainly with you, I am auditor, and I will not pass this money in our accounts unless you will be pleased to impart your thoughts unto us.' Then said other Canons, 'A very good motion: Mr. Dean, we must have your thoughts, or else you must repay the monies.' The Dean being pressed, said, that when he delivered the money and the lord received it and said nothing, he looked upon him and thought thus within himself: 'Thou base knave! when thou wert made Knight of the Garter, thou didst swear to protect the Church of Windsor; hast thou so many thousands of thine own, and wilt thou not do us justice without a bribe? What we have is spent in hospitality, for the relief of the poor, and for the honour of God and God's Church; some of us are not worth one hundred pounds: the money shall perish with thee and thine!' And so truly it did, for it did not prosper."

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Dr. Goodman, the Canon who penned the foregoing, spoke truly when he said the bribe did not prosper the cause. Many more years passed before the wall was at last repaired, and even then, it seems the work was indifferently carried out.

Less than a year after the collapse of the wall the Deanery was burnt down, but there was apparently no argument as to who should repair that building. The Dean quickly saw to it that the necessary money was raised for the purpose.

Throughout his entire reign James frequently visited Windsor Castle, but nothing unusual seems to have occurred. He was extremely fond of hunting, and often, when at the Castle, indulged in his favourite sport in the Little Park. In this connection there is a curious story, repeated by Hepworth Dixon in his *Royal Windsor*, that James's taste was only for that hunting which was of a mild nature, such as chasing rabbits with dogs, or bringing down partridges with a hawk. It is further said that the reason for his distaste of hunting deer or wild boar was due to cowardice; that when Queen Anne first hunted with her husband at Windsor she thought rabbit-coursing so tame that she called for a cross-bow, and brought down a stag as unerringly as Elizabeth would have done.

It is difficult to believe this anecdote, for Nichols mentions several occasions when James hunted wild boar, or killed "bucks," while another record of his persistent hunting is one which mentions the manner in which the King treated his gout, for James, we are told, to rid himself of that complaint, made it a habit "to bathe them [his feet] in every buck's and stag's belly in the place where he kills them." Besides, James frequently invited distinguished visitors from abroad to hunt with him, and if he were nervous of hunting any animal wilder than a rabbit, it is very unlikely that he would have invited others to learn of his timidity.

The existence of churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Windsor from 1616 onward reveals the fact that whenever James visited or left Windsor the church bells were rung in his honour. The cost of this welcome seems to have been one shilling per visit. These same churchwardens' accounts, showing numerous items of money disbursed "To Ringers at the Kings coming," are added confirmation of James's numerous visits to the Castle.

In the meantime James was not finding his new subjects



St. George's Chapel as it was in the days of the Stuarts



The Middle and Lower Wards, from a coloured drawing by Paul Sandby

particularly amenable to his rule. Early in his reign he narrowly escaped being blown sky-high by Guy Fawkes. A few months later there was a rumour of the King's assassination, but though there was an outburst of enthusiasm in the House of Commons when this rumour was proved unfounded, the people looked askance at the conduct of his Court, and complained of the drunkenness of those who frequented it, and of the King's partiality for worthless Scotsmen. Religious unrest flared up anew. James's private doctrine of divine monarchy came into conflict, first with common law, then with Parliament—a conflict which, in the succeeding reign, was to develop into civil war, and result in the execution of his son Charles.

Besides the occasions already noted the King was at Windsor several times in 1605, and in 1606, when he entertained there Christian IV, King of Denmark, and presented to his guest "King James' Knights of Windsor"—a new name for the poor knights. He was there in each successive year until 1621, when Ben Jonson's masque of the *Metamorphosed Gipsies* was there played before him, and in 1622, when he entertained the Spanish Ambassador there during August. On that occasion it is reported that the King and the Marquis of Buckingham went swimming every evening in the Thames, "but so attended with choice company and a boat or two, that there could be no danger."

In 1623 James kept St. George's Feast at Windsor, "where there was no great shew," because the King had to be carried about in a chair, so bad was his gout. He was at Windsor when his son Charles returned from his trip to Spain, whither he and Buckingham had gone to persuade Philip IV to give his sister's hand in marriage to Charles.

James was again at Windsor the following April, when he complained to the Mayor: "Am I any ill neighbour unto you? Do I do you any hurt? Doth my coming be any hindrance unto you? Why then do you vex me by permitting and suffering your poor to cut down and carry away my woods out of my Parks and grounds, and to sell the same?"

We do not know what answer the Mayor made to this charge, but he was commanded to punish the offenders "by whipping of them, and also to inflict the like punishment upon those that bought such woods of such as fetch it out of the parks or forests."

Petty complaints of this nature were typical of King James's

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attitude toward his subjects. It was little wonder that, despite the bells which chimed a welcome to him wherever he went, he was not a popular monarch. He was an idealist whose ideals were not practical, a religious pedant who could argue theology without practising Christianity. He was by no means a bad King; he tried to do good, and perhaps, in some instances, he did achieve good results. Unfortunately he was indolent, and too prone to bestow favours upon those he liked at the expense of others more deserving of reward.

In March, 1625, James was attacked by a tertian ague which caused his death three weeks later. He died on the 27th of March and, having sown the wind of which his unfortunate son was to reap the whirlwind, was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 5th of May. That whirlwind which was so soon to follow involved Windsor Castle in one of the strangest and most dramatic decades in its history.

CHAPTER XVIII

CHARLES THE MARTYR

CHARLES I, second son of James I, was born at Dunfermline on the 19th of November, 1600. He was brought to England in 1604. In 1612 the death of his brother Henry made him heir-apparent to the throne. In 1616 he was created Prince of Wales. At the age of twenty-two he was still unmarried—a significant sign of the changing times if one makes a comparison with the earlier customs, when princes married at fifteen and sixteen, and princesses at twelve. Charles was dignified in manner and active in exercise. He was peculiarly moral, and blushed whenever he overheard an immodest word.

His journey to Spain proved abortive, but when he returned and rode through London on his way to Windsor he was received by the people with acclamation which, it is said, would not have been forthcoming had a Spanish bride ridden by his side. As a consequence of this failure to marry a Spanish Princess, Charles, by now thoroughly under the influence of Buckingham, first persuaded his father to consider a war with Spain, and then, in order to enlist French sympathy, to open negotiations for the hand of a French Princess, Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. Charles' next move was to urge the impeachment of Middlesex, who had opposed the war with Spain. Charles was foolish enough to persist in this even against the advice of his father, who was far-sighted enough to tell Charles and Buckingham that, in teaching the Commons to impeach a minister, they were pickling a rod for their own backs. But Charles had ears for no advice save that of his favourite, the Duke of Buckingham.

Louis XIII was agreeable to the proposed marriage, subject to certain religious concessions. These Charles was unwilling to concede, but once more he was weak enough to indulge Buckingham, whose one ambition was to lead an English army

to victory. As a result a marriage treaty was signed toward the end of 1624. Yet so fully did both father and son realize what a dangerous step they had taken that they were afraid to summon Parliament. Such was the position in 1625 when James died, and Charles ascended the throne.

To return now to Windsor Castle, Charles, early in his reign, visited the Castle, and in connection with one of his stays there, an account of "Fees due to His Majesty's Servants" permit one an interesting glimpse into the pomp and ceremony of a Stuart Court. For instance, £5 was paid to the Gentlemen Ushers daily waiters, and the Gentlemen Ushers of the privy chamber, £2 6s. 8d. was paid to the Serjeants at Arms, and the Knight Harbinger, £2 to the Footmen, and the Yeomen of the Mouth, and the Trumpeters, £1 to the Knight Marshal, the Gentlemen Ushers Quarter waiters, the Sewers of the Chamber, the Yeomen Ushers, the Grooms and Pages, the Porters of the Gate, the Serjeant Trumpeters, the Surveyor of the Ways, and the Yeomen Harbingers, and 10s. to the Coachman, the King's Jester, and the Yeoman of the fields.

At first Charles visited the Castle as frequently as his father had done, though in July, 1625, one of the King's Guard died of the plague, whereupon the King "being not far thence, returned no more thither, as he was purposed." However, though the plague was still prevalent in the town of Windsor—where it had raged since 1620—Charles was at the Castle during the following year, and again in 1628. He was there in 1629 when he feasted the Marquis de Chasteneauf, the French Ambassador, and signed, in St. George's Chapel, the ratification of peace between England and France.

Meanwhile it seems that allegations of neglect and misappropriation of funds had been made against certain of the Castle officials, especially against the surveyor, William Taylor. In consequence of these charges a commission of enquiry was appointed in February, 1129; one of the commissioners was the famous Inigo Jones.

The commission commenced its task by taking the depositions of a large number of witnesses, and also by making a survey of the Castle. Both the account of the deposition, and the items of the survey, are lengthy, but they are of no real interest except to show that various sums of money had certainly vanished in a most mysterious manner, and also, that once more the Castle

was sadly in need of repairs. Perhaps one should add that the necessary repairs, though numerous, were not serious—new windows were needed here, a chimney and door needed underpinning there, walls required rough-casting elsewhere; the great Tower, being cracked, should be chinked and anchored home with timber and iron, the roof over the middle Tower needed new leads—but in no instance does it appear that, as was the case in Elizabeth's time, this or the other tower or building was in an imminent state of collapse.

1630 produced a curious document relevant to the Castle history. On the 10th of March letters patent were issued to permit John Day, one of the poor knights of Windsor, to proceed to Guiana for the purpose of establishing a plantation there. The letters patent grant "to the said John Day, free leave and licence to pass with his wife and family to Guiana aforesaid, and to be absent from his said place of Poor Knight for the space of four years next ensuing the date hereof. Wherefore we will and require you the Dean and Canons of our said Chapel of St. George for the time being to allow and pay to the said John Day, or to his Attorney without let or molestation, all such wages, fees, Liveries and profits whatsoever appertaining unto the said John Day, by virtue of his Poor Knights place, at such usual times as other our Poor Knights have or ought to have; and we do further by these presents give and grant to the said John Day free liberty either by himself or his attorney to substitute a deputy in his absence to wait in his place of Poor Knight at any feast of St. George or Installment holden at Windsor. And also our Will and Pleasure is that the said John Day or his Attorney shall receive out of our Exchequer (as other our Poor Knights) his yearly pension due unto him (by virtue of his said place) without any let or interruption whatsoever."

Throughout this story little mention has been made of the Deans of Windsor, but in 1635 a new dean was appointed to Windsor who fully deserves mention. This was Christopher Wren, father of the Sir Christopher Wren whose fame will never be forgotten as long as a love of fine architecture exists in the hearts of English people. Christopher Wren, the father, though not an architect by profession, seems to have had a bent towards kindred interests for, in October, 1637, he applied for the better accommodation of the Deanery, for a window to be

let into the wall of the Castle, and "likewise to (reedyfy) the chimney there, was lately taken down through the decay of it, he offering therefore to make up at his own cost certain emptiness in the said wall."

Orders for these repairs were promptly given, and presumably carried out. About this same time Dr. Wren also pointed out that St. George's Chapel was then in a very disorderly state, that the Royal closet was made a common passage to the leads, in consequence of which the painted glass at the east end suffered continual dilapidation, whole panes being picked out. An order was given providing for these repairs and also for doors with locks and keys to be built, to prevent the intrusion of improper persons.

In the same year the number of poor knights (now called Alms-knights again) was increased to eighteen owing to the generosity of Sir Francis Crane, who, at his own cost, erected a number of houses within the Castle walls which were known as "Sir Francis Crane's Buildings." These, by the way, no longer exist, having been demolished in the early part of last century. In consequence of this fine gesture, Charles I, not to be outshone, proposed further to increase the number to twenty-six, but this fine resolution was never carried out.

A frequent visitor to the Castle during this reign was a famous dwarf, by the name of Jeffrey Hudson. Hudson was in attendance on Henrietta Maria, and seems to have been a quaint little fellow who undertook the duties of a jester. He was of small stature, being little more than three feet in height, and his diminutive size enabled him to take part in a number of practical jokes. On one occasion, that of a banquet given by the Duke of Buckingham in honour of the Queen, Hudson was clad in a suit of miniature armour, and placed upon the table inside a pie. When the crust was broken he stepped forth, and bowed profoundly to the amused Queen and her guests. On another occasion, when a Court Masque was being held, the King's gigantic porter, William Evans, drew out of one pocket a long loaf, and little Jeffrey, instead of a piece of cheese, out of the other.

That Hudson, despite his size, was possessed of some dignity and courage, seems proved by the incident in which, after emerging from a violoncello case, he accused the Duke of Buckingham of high treason. King Charles II later labelled the

dwarf a Don Quixote in decimo-octavo, and commanded his portrait to be painted by Sir Anthony Vandyck.

Charles I also had another dwarf, attached to his Court. This was Richard Gibson, a clever painter, who eventually made a name as an artist. Page, at first, to a lady at Mortlake, who recognized his artistic bent of mind and paid for him to be instructed, he was later page to King Charles. He was married, in the presence of the King, to Mistress Anne Shepherd, a little lady who was Court dwarf to Queen Henrietta Maria, and, like her husband, only three feet ten inches in height.

During the years which followed his accession to the throne Charles continued to visit Windsor Castle upon various occasions, but his foolish, ill-considered behaviour was gradually achieving his own downfall. Early in his reign he was at loggerheads with Parliament by refusing to give up Buckingham. Mistakenly convinced that the executive government of the crown was not subject to parliamentary control he dissolved Parliament. This maxim of Royal supremacy he had inherited from his Tudor predecessors, who had successively practised it with deceptive ease. When basing his own attitude on the despotic power wielded by the Tudors Charles failed to recognize the difference in personality between the Tudors and the Stuarts. He did not realize that, although fear had prompted much of the respect which their subjects held for the Tudors, the Tudors had been personally liked and trusted. The Stuarts were not trusted. The people were never convinced that the Stuarts were sincere in any one particular. In a few words England was suspicious of the Stuarts, and so was not inclined to submit to a Stuart domination.

In 1626 the Commons again demanded Buckingham's dismissal. Again Charles replied by dissolving Parliament. The quarrel became bitter. War with France was imminent and money was urgently needed, but with Parliament dissolved Charles was in no position to obtain supplies. He appealed to the country for a "free gift" but the people were not in a generous mood, and very little was forthcoming. Then he caused further discontent by trying to force his subjects to lend him money. Eighty gentlemen refused to do so, and were imprisoned.

In 1628 Charles's third Parliament met. In his first speech Charles told the Commons that if Parliament did not supply his wants he would use other methods. In words admirably

calculated to irritate the Commons beyond measure he said, "Take not this as a threat, for I scorn to threaten any but my equals." Later that year Buckingham was assassinated, and though it was the act of a discontented fanatic Charles, had he possessed a modicum of foresight, would have read a warning in the death of his favourite.

So Charles went from bad to worse. In 1629 he again dissolved Parliament, and for the next eleven years he ruled without a Parliament. Actually this period was one of prosperity for the nation and Charles' rule was moderate. Nevertheless these eleven years represent a calm before the storm. The people became fiercely determined to make it impossible for Charles or any future king to rule for so long a period without summoning Parliament. Meanwhile two more favourites of the King, Thomas Wentworth and William Laud, were making themselves the most hated men in the country.

This seething discontent manifested itself at Windsor. In the words of the Earl of Holland, "There was great destruction, and killing of His Majesty's deer in the Forest of Windsor, especially in the New Lodge, where the people of the country, in a riotous and tumultuous manner, have lately killed a hundred of His Majesty's fallow deer, and besides red deer, and do threaten to pull down the pales about the said lodge."

Troubles continued, at Windsor and elsewhere. Alarmed by the attitude of the people, on the 10th of January, 1642, Charles, "for security against the tumults" moved his family from Whitehall to Hampton Court, attended only by a few household servants, and a small number of officers. Two days later he moved on from Hampton Court to Windsor Castle, for there, he believed, his family would know greater security in the event of any sudden revolt.

The following day he received a deputation from the quality of Buckinghamshire who brought with them a petition on behalf of Hampden, one of the five members of Parliament whom Charles had attempted to arrest in the House of Commons, praying that Hampden might have the privileges of parliament. To this petition Charles made reply that he waived former proceedings against the five members, but that he would proceed against them in another manner.

Events began to move apace. Armed forces, consisting of several troops of horse, and ammunition wagons, were seen

moving in the direction of Windsor, so Pym, another of the five members mentioned above, was sent to the Lords to acquaint the Upper Chamber with the information, and to lodge a remonstrance that armed forces should be levied while Parliament was sitting, and at peace. Further, the Lords were asked to declare that, whosoever should raise armed forces without the consent of Parliament might be declared enemies and disturbers of the peace of the Kingdom.

Fearing civil war the Commons next ordered Serjeant-Major General Shippon to appoint scouts who would be responsible for the giving of an alarm to the House should armed forces approach London. The same day a committee was appointed to put the Kingdom into a state of defence.

With the Royalists and the Parliamentarians in open opposition, the country remained in a state of tension. Messages between the King at Windsor and Parliament in London were exchanged almost daily, but without producing any signs of a compromise from either party. While Charles was still at Windsor he had "fallen in ten days from a height of greatness that his enemies feared, to such a lowness, that his own servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him."

On the 2nd of February the King received another deputation at Windsor, this time of members from both Houses of Parliament, conveying a petition that the Tower of London and all fortresses should be placed in the care of persons recommended by both Houses of Parliament. This demand placed Charles in a quandary, for he was unwilling to agree, yet afraid to refuse. He therefore played for time by requesting further information as to the names and particulars of the men proposed for this position, and the extent of the powers which might be given to them. This information was promised on the understanding that the King and Queen left Windsor Castle, so it was arranged for Charles to go north, and for Henrietta Maria to proceed to Holland. About two weeks later the King and his family left Windsor.

After the King had left, riotous pillaging in Windsor Forest broke out anew. As time passed the situation became so bad that the House of Lords commanded four of their members to prepare an order instructing the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace for the County of Berks to prevent further riots and unlawful assemblies in the Forest of Windsor. This order

seems to have been temporarily successful, for several people were subsequently committed to gaol for stealing deer from the Forest.

During the ensuing months both King and Parliament manœuvred to gain legal possession of the army, but in August Charles decided to delay action no longer, and on the 22nd he raised his standard at Nottingham, and was supported by, roughly speaking, the west and north of England. After some further negotiations, civil war began, and the King marched on London. Aided by loyalists, and particularly by his nephew, Prince Rupert, who commanded the famous "Prince Rupert's Horse," the war went well for the King, and he was able to proceed toward his destination without any serious check.

As Charles approached nearer to the Capital the Committee for the Defence of the Kingdom commanded Colonel Venn to take twelve companies of foot to Windsor Castle to take especial care of it because of its "being a place of greatest strength in this part of the kingdom, by reason of the height and strength, the country lying under it so that the Castle can command it round about."

The situation then became complicated. It has already been noted that the people of England had split into two warring factions, in favour either of the King or of Parliament. Yet a pamphleteer reports that the object of sending Colonel Venn and his troops to the Castle was to anticipate the King and his troops, which plan was defeated, for "by the appointment of the Parliament, several well affected gentlemen and valiant religious commanders are gone into Essex, etc., to raise several troops of dragoons and volunteers, some of which are arrived already at Windsor, and have taken possession of the Castle, for the use of His Majesty and Parliament, others are in the march towards Windsor, where being arrived, they intend to fortify themselves, and to make out-works, so that the Cavaliers have lost their labour."

Other records confirm that apparently no opposition was offered to the occupation of the Castle by Parliament troops who took possession of it on the 23rd of October in the name of the King and the Parliament.

As the King and Parliament were at war it is difficult to see how troops could occupy the Castle on behalf of both sides.

This seeming paradox is possibly explained in that the Parliamentarians, by coupling the King's name with their own, were able to avoid being legally declared rebels.

On the day of the occupation of the Castle, one Captain Fog, according to Ashmole, proceeded to the College to demand the keys of the Treasury, but all three Keepers of the keys were missing, so he ordered the doors to be forced, and then plundered the College of a quantity of gold plate.

Parliament must have seized Windsor Castle only just in time for on that day, the 23rd of October, was fought the indecisive battle of Edgehill which permitted Charles to occupy Oxford, and later to push on to Brentford. The probability is that, *en route* to Brentford, the King made a half-hearted, abortive attempt to capture the Castle by sending Prince Rupert to make an attack upon it. Charles reached Brentford on the 12th of November. The presence of enemy troops so near wealthy London was a dangerous threat to the Parliamentary cause, and if Charles had advanced to capture London the subsequent Parliamentary history of England might have been very different. But he was no Tudor. When trained bands marched boldly out of London to Turnham Green, Charles retreated to Oxford.

When Charles marched away from Windsor Castle he marched out of this story for the next six years. The history of the civil war interests us no more, for Windsor Castle was not again actively involved in it. But, leaving the civil war to look after itself, many interesting happenings took place at the Castle between 1642 and 1660, the year of the restoration of the Stuarts.

In January, 1643, for instance, the House of Commons ordered sixty Royalist prisoners to be removed to the Castle. About the same time a sum of twenty pounds was allocated to Colonel Venn for expenditure on repairs, Windsor Castle being "not so well fitted for the safe keeping of them as is requisite (the quality of the persons considered. . .)" Actually only fifty-five prisoners were sent to the Castle, and despite the repairs, the prisoners were far from comfortable, especially did they find it necessary to complain to Colonel Venn that they had no beds. Upon Colonel Venn's asking the Commons for instructions he was told that the Commons had every wish that the prisoners should have such beds and necessaries as they

required—provided that they were prepared to pay the cost of same.

Following these instructions both Houses of Parliament subsequently drew up the following formal order:

“The Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, taking into consideration that many soldiers and others late in the Prisons in and about the City of London, might be dangerous to the peace of the city if continued there, have removed fifty five of them mentioned in the paper hereunto annexed unto the Castle of Windsor, now in the custody of Colonel John Venn; for their more safe keeping and better preservation of the peace both of the Kingdom and City of London, do hereby order and require the said Colonel John Venn, Governor of the said Castle of Windsor, to receive them, and such other prisoners as shall be committed by authority of both or either of the Houses of Parliament, into his custody, and to keep them in some place of safety in the said castle until both Houses of Parliament or either of the said Houses, or his Excellency the Earl of Essex General of the Army by whom the said prisoners shall be committed, shall give further order for their enlargement; most of the said prisoners being committed for levying actual war against the King and Parliament, the rest being ill-affected and very dangerous persons: And during the Imprisonment of all such prisoners as aforesaid, the said Colonel Venn is hereby required not to permit or suffer any one of them, to him so committed, to go abroad out of the said Castle, or to suffer any man to come and speak with any one of them without the special licence, and in the presence of such as shall be appointed by him; nor to permit any letters to be delivered unto any one of them, or sent by any one of them, and to open the same, and finding that they contain matter conducing to the breach of the public peace of the Commonwealth in general, or derogatory to the honour of both or either Houses of Parliament, to send them up to one or both Houses with all expedition: And for the better regulating of fees of all such prisoners as are now to him the said Colonel committed, and by him taken into custody, or shall hereafter be to him committed by one or both Houses of Parliament, or by my Lord General the Earl of Essex, the said Colonel, his deputy or assigns shall

or may, from time to time, receive and take of every Lieutenant, Cornet, or Ensign, twenty six shillings and eightpence, and not above, at his or their entrance; of every inferior officer, or other ordinary person, the sum of twenty shillings, at his or their entrance, and not above; of every Knight, Captain of Horse or Foot, or Esquire, Forty shillings, and not above, at his or their entrance; and for any Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Serjeant Major, or any Person of High Degree, Five marks, and not above, at his or their entrance: And lastly it is ordered That the said Colonel, his deputy or assigns, shall and may take of every prisoner, during the time of his or their imprisonment, and before he or they be enlarged, for the accommodations or his or their Chamber or Chambers, some reasonable allowance weekly, according to the room or rooms with their accommodation, that any one so imprisoned shall make use of: And whatsoever the said Colonel Venn shall do in obedience to this order, the Lords and Commons in Parliament shall take it as an acceptable service done to the Parliament and kingdom, and will save him, the said Colonel Venn, harmless and indemnified for his so doing."

Thus, for the first time in its already long history, the Royal Palace of Windsor ceased to be "Royal." Still less was it a palace. In the years following 1643 the Castle was no more than a prison on the one hand, and a barracks on the other. The prisoners incarcerated behind its thick walls were loyal subjects of the King, and the Royal buildings were treated in the most shameful manner possible. The soldiers billeted in the Castle had no regard for art or architecture, for tradition or treasures. To them it was one of the homes of a despised sovereign, a place to be looted and despoiled, even destroyed.

The spoilers first did great damage to the Forest. All the deer in the Park were killed, all the pales were burned. So extensive were their depredations that the House of Lords had to order "that the Great Park at Windsor shall be protected by this House, to preserve it from spoil of the soldiers."

In April, 1643, the Commons ordered Colonel Venn to put into execution the ordinance for "seizing and sequestering the estates of Papists, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters." Venn was not slow to act upon this order. He promptly dispossessed all the minor canons and clerks attached to St. George's Chapel,

whereupon the unfortunate clerics petitioned the House of Lords, complaining of their treatment.

The Lords acted upon this petition and asked the Colonel the reason why the clerics should not be allowed to occupy their homes, at the same time commanding him to see that there should be no disturbances made in the Chapel, and that all monuments, registers, etc., belonging to the Order of the Garter should be preserved without defacement.

Venn seems to have given good reason why the unfortunate canons and officials attached to the Chapel should not occupy their houses for, a short while afterward, the Lords were again petitioned by the officials to be given the liberty to carry forth all their property, utensils, household goods, and books from their abodes, and asking, at the same time, for an order to be given for their safe conveying and quiet enjoying of the same as long as they submitted themselves to authority. It would seem from the latter part of this petition that the officials feared possible looting. At any rate the Lords granted the desired order, and directed Colonel Venn to see that the officials' chattels should not be molested beyond being searched.

A month later another petition from Windsor arrived at the House of Lords, for the poor knights asked the House to recommend that the poor knights be allowed their maintenance out of the sequestrations of Church livings, and that they might abide in their houses, or else have the allowance of profits made of them by keeping prisoners in the said houses. The Lords were pleased to make this recommendation.

That same year Colonel Venn disobeyed the order of the Lords by plundering the College, and seizing all the furniture and decorations of the choir. Furthermore he allowed the destructive spirit of his soldiers full rein, and in consequence much of the woodwork was torn away and demolished, the painted windows defaced, and the organ injured. Evidently Venn's spoliation of the chapel was not done on his own account for the plate was melted down and coined, and the money sent to Fairfax. Moreover it was but a short while after this that Venn received official orders to remove all scandalous monuments and pictures from the churches and chapels of Windsor and Eton.

The soldiery must be condemned for their harsh treatment of Windsor Castle, and of other Royal palaces which they occupied

(St. James's, for instance, which they all but ruined), but in fairness to them it must be admitted that the men themselves were not particularly well treated, for as the civil war dragged on they found it increasingly hard to obtain their pay, or even adequate food. Colonel Venn had continually to demand money for his troops, and when it was proposed to form the "Windsor Regiment" it was wisely suggested that the raising of the regiment should be postponed unless there was a more certain way of paying the men.

In April, 1644, the House of Commons resolved that the garrison of Windsor should march and have a month's pay, but a month later the City of London petitioned the House that the Castle should remain in safe hands, and that the garrison "should be timely and constantly supplied with money and other necessaries." Nevertheless, for want of money to pay the men the garrison was partially disbanded.

It was not long before Colonel Venn was writing for more money. He wrote in June and again in August, but apparently without a great deal of success. This decided the Colonel to seek his own supplies, so he started "discovering" the goods of those Royalist supporters who lived in the neighbourhood of Windsor. His share of these transactions, paid to him by the Sequestrators, apparently amounted to one-twentieth.

In October Parliament ordered the garrison at Windsor Castle to be reduced to two hundred common soldiers, besides officers. At the same time the Committee for Examination was ordered "to consider how monies may be speedily provided for the present supplies of Windsor garrison, where the soldiers are in great want."

The next trouble at the Castle was a mutiny, either on account of the heavy arrears of pay, or the reduction of the garrison, or both. The Commons referred the matter to a Committee (always a popular move in the House of Commons), "to take a present course for the safety of Windsor Castle, and for the suppressing of the mutineers there," but evidently the mutineers were not so easily dealt with for the very next day the Commons "especially recommended" to the same Committee to take some speedy course for the safety of the Castle, "the house being very sensible of the present and imminent danger that place lies in."

For once a Committee acted speedily. Three hundred men

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of the trained bands of Middlesex were sent to the Castle, and £100 a fortnight was allocated to them from the county of Middlesex.

The story of applications for pay continues, but it becomes repetitious and unnecessary to record the further demands. What is more interesting to note is that Oliver Cromwell and Sir Thomas Fairfax stayed at Windsor Castle in the spring of 1645, and that, in consequence of the proximity of the King's forces, the Commons first ordered notice to be sent to the Governor of Windsor of the King's "intending to plunder those parts," and then strengthened the garrison by the increase of one hundred foot and some horse.

Despite a war Parliament still managed to find time to debate apparently unimportant matters, some of which concerned the Castle. For instance, in February, 1646, the Lords read a petition from the poor knights of Windsor showing that they had no maintenance from the revenue belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. In March, the Commons appointed a committee to examine and consider the value "of the collar of S.S. the George and Garter, found at Windsor Castle," and to examine also the business concerning the £2,500 supposed to be hidden underground in some private place in or about Windsor Castle.

So the reign of Charles I draws to its close. Under the leadership of the uncompromising, resolute Cromwell the Parliamentary army marched to one victory after another until the Royalists were finally defeated at Naseby. Charles fled first to Wales, then to his Scotch army at Newark. Even then Parliament wanted him to remain King, stipulating only that he should give them complete freedom over the army for twenty years, and grant freedom of worship to Puritans. Charles refused to consider these terms. He continued to intrigue, endeavouring to set one party against another. At last even his followers tired of him, and in exchange for arrears due amounting to £400,000 the Scots handed Charles over to Parliament on the 30th of January, 1647.

Although virtually kept a prisoner by the army the King was still treated with the respect due to Royalty, and he probably retained hope of remaining King upon his own terms. These hopes were raised when Parliament and the army began to quarrel over the matter of back pay and its disbandment. Charles

became involved in this quarrel for, on the 23rd of June, 1647, a body of horse, commanded by Cornet Joyce, carried off the King to Newmarket. From thence, at his own request, Charles moved to Windsor Castle, on the 1st of July. There the bells rang a welcome to him as in the past.

He was there but two days. Still at liberty to choose his own residence, he signified his intention of proceeding to Caversham. He was still there when General Fairfax wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons:

"Mr. Speaker: Understanding the small force is left in Windsor Castle, and considering the consequences of that place, and the hazarding may be by the army's removal so far remote, I have thought it fit to send a hundred commanded men for the more security of that place, which I thought it my duty to acquaint you withal; and further, to desire you that you will please to move the house for some pay for that garrison, which, as I understand, is above a twelvemonth in arrear, and since March last hath not received one penny."

From Caversham Charles moved first to Slake House, near Windsor, thence to Oatlands, and lastly to Hampton Court. Meanwhile friction between Parliament and the army continued, and seizing the opportunity to ruin a house divided against itself the King began to plot with the Scots and the Irish for a fresh rising. He escaped from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight. The Scots invaded England, and there were Royalist insurrections in Wales, Kent, and Essex. Exasperated by the King's constant petty intrigues the army determined to exercise no more mercy.

Windsor Castle became the army headquarters. Upon the news of the King's recapture a meeting of the general officers of the army, with Cromwell and Ireton present, was held at Windsor to discuss what should be done with the King's person. This meeting sealed the King's fate. It was decided to prosecute the King as a criminal person, and probably there was not one present who did not realize that the real meaning of their decision was that the King must die. He had meddled once too often with the lives of his countrymen.

On the 6th of December, 1648, Parliament met to impeach their sovereign. Those who refused to sit in judgment on their King were turned away by Colonel Pride. When Pride's

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"Purge" was at an end only fifty-three members remained. They appointed one hundred and thirty-five persons to form a court of justice.

On the 22nd of December King Charles I arrived at Windsor Castle, and the picture must have been a sad one as he, a prisoner, entered the Castle which for the past six hundred years had been the emblem of royalty, the glory of his ancestors, the home at which, not many years previously, he and his own family had spent so many happy hours. Surrounded by enemies, forbidden to speak to, or be visited by any not having special permission, looking "indifferent cheerful," it is little wonder that even those who had fought against him experienced a feeling of sadness as they watched him go by, a pity which prompted them to call out: "God bless Your Majesty, and send you long to reign." The effect upon the Royalists was even more unhappy, for they were unable to restrain their feelings, and after he had passed by serious fighting occurred in the public houses at Windsor. On one occasion three persons were killed.

From the 22nd of December Charles remained at Windsor until Friday, the 19th of January, 1649. During those weeks he sometimes visited friends living nearby. Zealous loyalists planned his escape, arranging for him to be mounted on a speedy horse capable of outstripping his guards, but the plot miscarried. He was treated well, if not regally at least courteously. The local periodical of that time published the following account:

"Since the Kings coming hither many people have desired to see him, which they are not denied, yet are the Parliaments votes observed that no Addresses be made to him, or any speak with him, without leave from the Lord General or the Speaker of the House of Commons. His Majesty hath three new suits, two of them are of cloth with rich gold and silver lace on them, the other is of black satin, the cloak lined with plush. Since the King came to Windsor he shews little alteration of courage or gesture, and, as he was formerly seldom seen to be very merry, or much transported with any news either with joy or sorrow: so now, although he expects a severe change and trial, yet doth he not shew any great discontent.

"He demands the reason of the alteration of the deportments of those about him, and being told it was according to

orders of the House that the knee, &c. should be forborne, he said he ne're lookt upon those any more than of thing's ceremonious which were at the election of any whether they would use them or not."

and then a few days later:

"The Kings new clothes are come to him. He put on one of his suits the last Lords day. He refused to observe the last Wednesday in public, but useth his own private devotions as he pleaseth. He hears of the preparations to bring him to trial, and seems to be well satisfied for what follows; but is very reserved in his discourse thereupon, having not yet fully delivered his mind, whether he intends to plead or not."

On the 13th of January the House of Commons ordered the King's removal from Windsor to St. James's Palace, but actually Charles did not leave Windsor until Friday the 19th.

The following day sixty-three men only sat to try the King. He was impeached as a tyrant, traitor and murderer, found guilty, and sentenced to be executed.

On the 30th of January Charles was beheaded—a more noble man on that sad day than he had been throughout his life. On that same day the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Loughborough escaped from Windsor Castle—Hamilton but temporarily, Loughborough permanently.

Parliament decreed that the late King should be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the expense should not exceed five hundred pounds. On the 7th of February, accordingly, the body was conveyed from St. James's Palace to Windsor Castle, and there placed for one night in the room the King had once used as his bedchamber.

About three o'clock in the afternoon four lords and the Bishop of London arrived at Windsor to help bury their late sovereign. They entered into St. George's Chapel to choose a spot for the interment, but upon entering the Chapel they found it so altered and transformed, with so many inscriptions defaced and well-known decorations pulled down, that they found it difficult to locate any known landmarks. "Nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it," adds Lord Clarendon, "or knew where our princes had used to be interred."

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They sought for a vault, first in "Cardinal Wolsey's" chapel, where they found all was solid earth, and then in the choir of St. George's Chapel, knocking upon the floor "to see if a sound would confess any hollowness therein, and at last (directed by one of the aged poor knights) did light on a vault in the middle thereof."

The rest of the day was spent in preparing the grave, and inscribing on a (scaife) of lead the words:

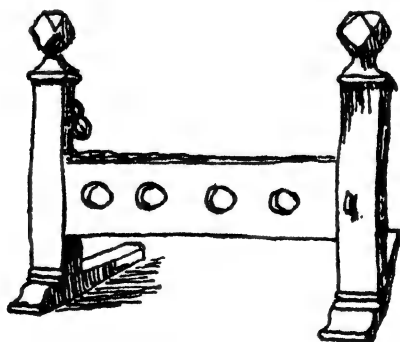
King Charles

1648.¹

The next day, a Friday, the soldiers of the garrison conveyed the coffin through a thick snowstorm into St. George's Chapel, and, in silence and sorrow, it was reverently deposited in a vacant place in the vault.

Meanwhile, for the first and—it is to be hoped—last time in its history, Great Britain was being ruled, though not yet officially, by a dictator—Oliver Cromwell.

¹ 1649, according to the Gregorian Calendar. According to some authorities the inscription was engraved on a plate of silver. Others say that the inscription was: "Charles King of England."



*Old stocks which once stood in the cloisters adjoining
St. George's Chapel.*

CHAPTER XIX

THE MERRY MONARCH

DURING the four years of the Commonwealth, and the seven years of the Protectorate, very little happened at Windsor Castle. In the absence of a Royal master the Castle was no longer a palace of pageantry, of pomp and circumstance, of picturesque ceremonies, and of all the colourful life which made the glory of a Royal Court. During these eleven years the Castle remained a barracks and a prison—in fact, just a collection of cheerless, ill-kept, and dilapidated buildings. No wonder Evelyn describes the Castle as being “large in circumference; but the rooms melancholy, and of ancient magnificence.” Nevertheless, even the spoliation of the Castle did not suffice to destroy all its amenities, for Evelyn continues: “The keep, or mound, hath besides its incomparable prospect a very profound well, and the terrace towards Eton, with the park, meandering Thames, and sweet meadows, yield one of the most delightful prospects.”

In 1649, a few months after the death of Charles I, the Castle was the scene of a plot on the part of the Levellers, the army extremists who strove to overthrow the Commonwealth. As part of their campaign they planned to capture Windsor Castle, but Parliament, having received information of their design, hurriedly dispatched a message to the Governor of the Castle, on the 19th of September, to the effect that “We have fresh information that the Levellers intend this night to make an attempt upon Windsor Castle; we again give you this notice as many are come out of town thither about it. We enclose an extract of a piece of intelligence brought us, by which you may discover, perhaps, who has been practising about that business, by considering who have been instruments in making or preparing that door.”

A month later the Council of State sent another message to

the Governor. "As you have secured some prisoners, for breaking up and carrying away some leaden pipes that brought water to Windsor Castle, you are to proceed against them as a justice of the peace for county Berks, and cause some one to be bound over to indict and prosecute them at the next sessions."

Among the prisoners at the Castle during this period of nine years were the Earls of Lauderdale, Kelly, Rother, Crawford, and Lord Sinclair, and particularly, the Duke of Buckingham, son of the Duke of Buckingham who had unwittingly assisted in bringing about the downfall of Charles I.

Before passing on to Charles II, one should mention our old friends the poor knights—at this time being called the Almsmen—who became the subject of several debates in the Commons. On the 2nd of September, 1654, an ordinance for continuing the "Almsmen and Almshouses" at Windsor Castle was passed, but on the 28th of April, 1657, another discussion took place in the House.

"*Colonel Shapcott* excepted against confirming the ordinance for the almshouse at Windsor. It concerns his county, and many thousand souls there.

"*Captain Hatsell*. This is a business of great weight, and ought to be looked into. It concerns many thousand souls. I desire that revenue may be examined. I have made application to His Highness in this, and have hopes of relief, to have something allowed for a minister out of it. Not one penny in the parish where I live but goes to that almshouse. Another living there, at £140 per annum, another £33, and another living robbed in the same nature. This is robbing the soul to clothe the body. Thus many poor parishes in our county, Devonshire, are spoiled in this nature, and all goes to maintain those thirteen gentlemen. Great allowance to officers. A steward £80 per annum; sexton, verger, &c. £20 apiece.

"*Mr. Fowell*. I second that motion. It is worth your examination.

"*Lord Whitlock*. It is fit those ministers should have maintenance, but not to take other men's rights to do it. It is their ancient right, before this ordinance. They are persons that have faithfully served you; none else are capable. Their salary does no more but maintain the poor knights and officers. I have seen their accounts, and what remains at any

time, it is accounted for to the public use. There are three godly ministers maintained out of it.

"*Colonel Jones*. I hope this House will never divert anything that is given to a pious use. You have had a fair state of the case by this honorable person. It is acknowledged, on the other hand, that the pedigree is as ancient as Henry VIII. There is a liberal allowance for ministers' maintenance elsewhere. I hope you will not take it from this.

"*Mr. Bodurda* moved, that Colonel Shapcott might be heard again.

"*Colonel Shapcott* stood up accordingly. I move, that if they have such an ancient and undoubted right, they may be left to law, and not confirmed by you. We desire but maintenance for our minister.

"*Mr. Trevor* moved that Lord Whitlock might be heard again, which was granted.

"*Lord Whitlock* moved, that he would do all the furtherance he could, to get them allowance for maintenance of a minister; he would move the governors at next meeting.

"*Mr. Bampfild*. I move, that you will not agree with the Committee in that; for there is great abuse of that revenue.

"Yet it was resolved to agree with the Committee."

On the 20th of September, 1659, this matter was again raised, and referred to a Committee. Before the Committee had time to report back the Stuarts had been restored to the Throne of England.

There is one outstanding personality who sometimes stayed at the Castle and of whom mention should be made. Whether one admires the Lord Protector for his determination, his courage, and his single-minded patriotism, or despises him as a rebel, a tyrant, the virtual murderer of Charles I, and a ranting, hypocritical psalm-singer, one must admit that his undoubted qualities of statesmanship raised the prestige of Great Britain to a higher level than it had attained since the heyday of Elizabeth.

Cromwell's history is a familiar one. We all know him as a not-too-prosperous farmer who was elected to the House of Commons, and that during his eleven years as an ordinary member he only made one speech. Yet if during those eleven years he was not an outstanding character, in trivial matters he

frequently championed the cause of the commoners against the King's encroachments on their liberty. During these years he became a fanatical Calvinist.

When civil war broke out Cromwell joined the army of the Earl of Essex as captain of a troop of horse. In the first battle he revealed something of the qualities which were later to make him Lord Protector, for he was one of the officers who "never stirred from their troops, but they and their troops fought to the last minute." He very quickly rose in rank, and by the strength of his own religious convictions succeeded in instilling piety into the hearts of the men who fought under him. Very soon he was esteemed not only as a fine military commander, but also as an adviser and leader of independent thought. So his star rose higher, until the time came when Parliament began to practise those qualities of autocratic disregard for the liberties of the people for the suppression of which illegality Parliament had just fought. The members, fearing the army, sought to pass a Bill by which its members were to keep their seats without re-election. At the head of five or six files of musketeers Cromwell forcibly put an end to the sitting of the "Long Parliament" which had first sat in the year 1640. At a later meeting of a new Parliament, the "Little" Parliament, summoned in the name of Oliver Cromwell, the members invited Cromwell to become Lord Protector.

England in those few years when she was ruled by the righteous-minded Protector may have been a sad place, but nobody can deny the beneficial results of Cromwell's dictatorship. The laws passed in that time were subsequently declared illegal, but they were wise laws, and many of them were quickly legalized when Charles II ascended the throne.

As Lord Protector Cromwell sometimes resided at Windsor Castle, and it is only fair to his memory to point out that he put a stop to much of the destructive spoliation which was taking place, and in some instances, notably in the case of the famous Raphael Cartoons, he himself bid for plundered treasures to prevent their going overseas. It was Cromwell who kept together the endowments of Windsor College, and the landed estates were greatly improved in value during his administration. He bought back the Home Park which had been sold.

Of personal anecdotes concerning Cromwell's residence at Windsor Castle there are none. Sir Walter Scott alone appears

to have penned a picture of the stern dictator pacing the rooms and corridors of the ancient Castle.

On the 3rd of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died. His son Richard was declared Protector, but Richard was not Oliver. Richard was no soldier, nor was he a religious zealot. He was popular with no party, and he quickly resigned the task which he was not willing to shoulder. With the army leaderless, with the public tired of the melancholy life which puritanical rule had forced them to lead, the way to a restoration lay open. Monk set himself the task of placing Charles, second son of Charles I, on the Throne of England. This proved no difficult undertaking; on the 8th of May, 1660, Charles II was solemnly proclaimed King.

What shall one say about the character of Charles II? Unscrupulous in accepting large bribes from foreign kings, immoral in his numerous love affairs, easily swayed by the advice of his favourites, ready to bend to the wind from whichever corner it might blow, from a cursory examination of these characteristics it is difficult to feel anything save contempt for him. Yet Charles II was a likeable man despite all his faults—and despite all his faults he made a good King. He was the right man in the right place at the right time. For many years after the Restoration the Throne of England hung in the balance. A little overweight on one side or the other, and there probably would have been another civil war. Charles proved all things to all men. He was acquiescent to all parties, and by the apparent complacency of his apparently weak character he never made enemies in sufficient numbers to bring about a coalition powerful enough to bring down the Throne in ruins.

Few kings in English history have ascended the Throne in more difficult circumstances. The majority of his subjects, sick and weary of the gloomy years of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, were glad to see a King sitting on the traditional Throne of England—and a King, too, who was apparently the antithesis of the sombre, gloomy Protector who had so firmly directed the moral aspect of the lives of the British people. Charles II's Court was glamorous, cheerful, witty, and if it was also dissolute, such was the reaction of the people from the past eleven cheerless years that they were ready to excuse and forgive. Nevertheless, Charles was a Stuart, and the memory

of the people was not so short that they could forget all they had suffered and fought for, because of two previous Stuart monarchs. One false step, and Charles would have lost everything. But the King had an obstinate streak in his character. He had been crowned King, and King he would remain until the day of his death. He had no wish to go on his travels again. Therefore he schemed, intrigued, blew hot and cold, debased himself, demeaned himself—and retained his Throne. Perhaps the end justified the means! Who knows?

Charles achieved popularity. He restored the pageantry of royalty, and the British people have an ineradicable love for displays of this nature. Their exuberant enthusiasm for scenes of regal spectacles is a healthy outlet for an otherwise reserved, cautious nature. To restore Royal dignity to its previous high level was not the least difficult of the many tasks which faced Charles as soon as he became King. Royal dignity must be housed in regal surroundings and nearly all the Royal palaces were in a deplorable state. St. James's Palace, for instance, was so badly cared for that the corridors and rooms were thick with dust and dirt, the roofs leaked, and everywhere it was overrun with rats and mice and other vermin.

Windsor Castle, as we have seen, was little better off. Its treasures had been stolen, or sold for the benefit of the country, everything beautiful had been defaced or ruined, no repairs had been done for many years. To complete the picture of desolation many poor people, quite unconnected with either the government of the Castle, or the government of the land, seem to have succeeded in inhabiting the Castle buildings. Indeed the stately old place can have been little better than a slum when Charles became King.

All the Stuarts had a love of beauty, and Charles II was no exception to this rule, as we shall soon learn. Very early in his reign he must have conceived the ambition to re-beautify the Castle. First, however, it was necessary to dispossess all the people who had so casually taken up residence in the place. A general order for their ejection was given, and carried out. This naturally entailed hardships upon the unfortunate people concerned, and on the 7th of August, 1660, the House of Commons found it necessary to refer to the Justices of the Peace the care and disposition of the poor women and children who had been "commanded out of the Castle of New Windsor."

Another early act was that of appointing Lord Mordaunt Constable of the Castle in the place of the famous Bulstrode Whitelock, ardent Parliamentary, who quickly resigned his office when the Stuarts returned to power. In connection with this resignation and appointment Whitelock, on the 18th of August, wrote a letter to Lord Mordaunt outlining the responsibilities and duties of a Constable of the Castle, which for that reason is particularly interesting to this work, and therefore worth quoting.

“MY LORD,

“I shall be always ready to do any Service in my Power to your Lordship or any Friend of yours, especially to my Lord Mordaunt, and in the business of Windsor I have some experience, which may render me the more capable to serve his Lordship. It would take up too much of your time to acquaint you with the particulars relating to the office of Constable of Windsor, but in general it is thus.

“He is Keeper and Governor of the Castle, and to command any Garrison or under officers there. He may make use of any Lodgings or Rooms in the Castle whereof the King hath not present use; He is Judge of the Castle Court for trial of Suits of any value arising within the honour. The Process and Proceedings are to be in his name, and he may constitute a Steward or Deputy (which your nephew Will: now is) to hear and determine those causes, and himself may stay judgement where he thinks fit, for a convenient time in any suit depending, and is to appoint the attorneys who shall practise in that Court. He is Keeper of the Forest which is 120: miles compass, and hath the care of the Vert and Venison there when it is stored, and power to hunt and dispose of them as he shall think fit, not prejudicing the King's Pleasure. He hath command of all the Game within the Forest and may appoint Deputies by Commission to take care that no Deer, Hares, Coneys, Pheasants, Partridges, Heath-poults or other Game be killed without Licence, but preserved for His Majesty's pleasure, and may punish such as shall destroy them. None may hunt within the Forest without the King's Licence, or the Constables, nor fell any wood, without licence. He may appoint Courts of the Forest to be kept for punishing of Trespassers. He may dispose of the several Lodges and walks

in the Forest to whom he pleaseth; The Little Parks used to be in his Custody, and the Great Park within his care. Some buildings adjoining to the Castle used to be let by him at a Rent reserved to himself. There is a Prison within the Castle called the Colehouse to which he may commit offenders. He may make a Lieutenant of the Forest, with such of his Power as he shall think fit to depute to him, and are according to law. The Rents belonging to the Castle used to be accounted to him and by his Officers to the Exchequer. His Fee is Twenty pounds yearly and Ten Load of wood for fuel and 40s. yearly to defray the charge of cutting it. There be many other particulars wherein I shall be ready to inform his Lordship, and to write on him with my best advice and assistance, in this or any other business concerning him, whensoever he shall appoint, or your Lordship shall give intimation to.

“Your Lordships affectionate Bro: &

“humble servant

“B: WHITELOCKE.”

In the light of subsequent events it is also entertaining to note that, in another letter to Mordaunt, Whitelocke described the office of Constable of Windsor Castle as being of great antiquity, honour, power, and pleasure, but of very little profit.

In pursuance of his project to restore the *status quo* of pre-Commonwealth days Charles held a chapter of the Garter at Windsor on the 14th of January, 1661. This was not the first chapter of the Garter held by Charles. From the moment of his father's death Charles had considered himself as King of England *de jure*, and as head of the Garter he had held a number of chapters during his enforced sojourn in foreign lands. At the first which he held in Windsor a new deputy-chancellor and a new registrar were appointed. On the 15th, 16th, and 17th of April following, a Feast of the Garter was held, which was attended by all but two of the Companions and all foreigners.

In the February before, work had been commenced on the very necessary repairs to the Castle, and this was continued until the 4th of November, 1662. Considering the exceedingly detailed accounts for work performed hundreds of years previously it is strange that there are no analysed accounts showing the nature of this work, but as the total sum paid out was £2743 15s. 5d.

it is evident that the repairs were tackled in no half-hearted fashion—and also further proof of the dilapidated state of the Castle buildings.

In considering Charles's obvious interest in the Order of the Garter it is not surprising to learn that he paid particular attention to restoring St. George's Chapel to its former splendour. It was found "shortly after his happy restoration that through the licentious barbarism of the late times, the sacred Utensils formerly dedicated to the use of the Altar, had been sacrilegiously plundered, and being religiously earnest to set again on foot, so laudable a way of provision, for supply of all things necessary to its service and ornament, upon the petition of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, exhibited in Chapter held at Whitehall, the 20. of June, did with the cheerful and ready consent of the Knights Companions, revive the aforesaid Decrees, for raising the like sums of money, both from himself and the present and future Knights-Companions which by virtue of the foresaid decrees had been formerly collected.

"Hereupon His Highness James Duke of York, bestowed a fair piece of Plate of £100 value, and the Earl of Southampton gave not only what the Statutes required, but half as much more, towards the Plate designed to be bought with the rest of the Knights-Companions money. And to enable Dr. Bruno Ryves the now Dean of Windsor, to collect and receive, not only from the rest of the present Knights Companions, but all other, within one year after their Election, the sum of £20 a piece, and thereof to give an account of the following chapter, and so successively of slackness or failure if any should be, the Sovereign in November following, issued out his warrant unto him, under the Sign Manual and the Signet of the Order.

"How the money hereby collected was bestowed, as also what other Plate was added to the Furniture of the said Altar, by some other piously disposed persons, will appear by the following Inventory, taken by Dr. Brown Chanter, and Dr. Evans Steward of the College, the 20 of July, 1667, and from them transmitted to my hand.

" 'A pair of plain gilt Flagons, bought with the money collected from the Knights-Companions, weighing 150 ounces.

A pair of wrought Flagons, with great Bellies, having the

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Figure of St. George on Horseback on their Covers, the rest all Feather-work, bought with the Knights money, weighing 414 ounces.

One plain small Basin, wrought and gilt only in the middle of it, weighing 25 ounces and one half.

A pair of plain gilt Chalice and covers, bought also with the Knights money, both weighing 163 ounces and one quarter.

A large embossed Basin, with the Figure of Mary Magdalen, washing our Saviour's feet, weighing 198 ounces.

A pair of large Taper Candlesticks embossed, with Nozzles to them, weighing 264 ounces.

These Candlesticks and Basin were obtained of her Highness Princess Mary about November 1660 by Dr. Brown, but she dying before the following Christmas, the charge (being £233 odd money) lay upon the College.

A pair of large Basins gilt and embossed with the History of Christ, at his last supper upon one; and on the other, of Christ blessing the young children coming to him, being obtained by Dr. Brown of her Highness the Duchess of York 1661 both weighing 305 ounces.

A plain gilt corporas, the gift of Sir Richard Fanshaw, weighing 24 ounces.

A double gilt Chalice and Cover, with a broad Foot, having a Cross on the Cover, and another on the foot; the gift of the Lady Mary Heveningham, weighing 33 ounces.' "

In 1662 a grand Feast of St. George was celebrated. On this occasion, so great was the concourse of people "which at that time had flocked to Windsor (greedy to behold the glory of that solemnity, which for many years had been intermitted) and rudely forced, not only into and filled the lower row of stalls, but taken up almost the whole choir" that the knights elect were unable to be invested in their proper stalls but had to be content with receiving the honour below in the choir.

Another Feast celebrated two years later is particularly noteworthy, for an anthem was composed for the occasion and sung accompanied by the organ and other instrumental music. This was the first time that instrumental music had been introduced into St. George's Chapel.

Charles had a great liking for Windsor Castle. Not only did

he decide to make it his habitual summer residence, but, having heard of the glorious palace which the Grand Monarque, Louis XIV of France, was erecting at the village of Versailles, he also determined not to be outdone by his French brother in the matter of palaces. So he decided to enlarge and improve Windsor Castle, and in the course of time additions were made to the Upper Ward of greater importance than any since the reign of Edward III. These, in brief, consisted of the Victoria Tower, which was erected in the south-east corner of the quadrangle, the Prince of Wales's Tower in the north-east corner, the very considerable buildings which face the widest part of the North Terrace, and which were then known as the "Star" Buildings, from the device of the star of the Garter which was freely used in their ornamentation. These buildings are now known as the Stuart Buildings, and comprise, on the ground floor, the library, the rooms of the Master of the Household, and Vestibule. On the first floor are the rooms belonging to the State Apartments, now open to public inspection. Those rooms which were built by Charles are the State Ante-Room, the Rubens Room, Council Chamber, King's Closet, Queen's Closet, Picture Gallery, and Library. Charles was also responsible for what is now the Grand Reception Room.

This is perhaps a convenient moment for describing more fully the work done in the reign of Charles II. Besides the major works mentioned above, considerable repairs were carried out in the then East wing. But what is of more importance is the fact that the King was not satisfied merely to enlarge the Upper Ward. He beautified it, first by employing the famous Sir Christopher Wren as architect, and later he engaged two other famous men, Verrio the painter, and Gibbons the wood-carver.

It is difficult casually to dismiss in a few paragraphs all the improvements effected in this reign. However sumptuous the Castle may have been during any period of its history previous to Charles II's reign it cannot have compared with the handsome splendour of the Upper Ward as created by that gay monarch.

According to Poynter, the new erection, "with the building adjoining as far as the kitchen, the building of Henry VII, the inner range toward the court, including St. George's Hall and the Royal Chapel, and the return next to King John's Tower, formed on the principal floor a suite of seventeen state rooms and a principal staircase, of dimensions and proportions truly palatial, and

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in a style of architecture which may atone by its grandeur and magnificence for what is called its want of purity, the only characteristic which it has of late been the fashion to discern in it. The ceilings, especially, were decorated in the noblest style art has ever devised, and if the execution were unequal to the intention, it must be attributed to the general decline of historical painting at this period, when its best efforts scarcely attained a respectable mediocrity, and when perhaps few of its professors could have been found more competent than Antonio Verrio to the task which he undertook. The general disesteem in which this painter has been held may be traced as much to the satire of Pope and Walpole as to his own want of merit; but the sarcasm of the latter are directed less against the painter than against the class of art which he practised, in which Walpole allows him more merit than he probably intended. Verrio's deficiencies as a painter are neither few nor trifling; but, whatever his merits or demerits may be, his paintings at Windsor Castle, and even some of the rooms which they decorated, are now the subject of history, and some notice of them must not be omitted.

"The taste for fable and allegory has been sufficiently ridiculed; but the painter of a ceiling, unless his subject be of a religious character, has little choice but to represent such airy personages as dwell in those regions of the imagination. To suspend the material world over the heads of the spectators is an absurdity which Verrio, with all his faults, had too much sense to commit. His pencil, therefore, wandered into the mazes of personification and mythology throughout the ceilings at Windsor (with the exception of that in the chapel the subject of which was the Resurrection), complimenting his royal patron and the Queen with the attributes of all the virtues, and introducing local allusions wherever they could be made applicable. A considerable proportion of these works, some of them of large dimensions, and containing numerous figures, were executed within five years. Verrio began to paint at the Castle in 1676, and the apartments were certainly for the most part finished in 1681, according to a list written about that date, and preserved by Vertue, which furnishes some interesting particulars relative to the sums paid to Verrio on account of these performances. From this paper it appears that he had for the chapel £900, and £150 for additional works there. For the ceiling of the King's guard chamber, a room eighty feet long, but painted only in



From Pyne's Royal Residences

The Ball Room as planned by Charles II. Note the ceiling by Verrio, and the picture frames by Gibbons



From Pyne's Royal Residences

The Queen's Presence Chamber. The picture on the left is of Charles I, by Vandyck.

The larger picture at the end of the room is of the Duke of Saxony, by Rubens

three compartments, £300. For that of the King's presence chamber, representing Charles II, with the four quarters of the globe and the emblems of commerce, £200. For the Queen's drawing-room, an assembly of the gods, £250. The Queen's bed-chamber, Endymion and Diana, £100. The King's great bedchamber, Charles seated on a throne, surrounded by allegorical personages, £120. The King's drawing-room, the restoration of Charles II, treated allegorically, £250. The King's closet, Jupiter and Leda, £50. The King's dining-room, a banquet of the gods, £250. The Queen's presence chamber, Catharine of Braganza attended by the cardinal virtues, £200. The Queen's guard chamber, Catharine in the character of Britannia, attended by the gods, &c., £200. The privy chamber, £200. The Queen's long gallery, £250. The Queen's chapel, £110. The Queen's privy chamber, £200. The Queen's great stairs, £200; and several other sums for private apartments."

The State Apartments as they were then are largely as they are now, though of the many ceilings painted by Antonio Verrio only three remain. Those three are to be seen in the King Charles II Dining Room, the Queen's Presence Chamber, and the Queen's Audience Chamber. In succeeding reigns other Verrio ceilings were, unfortunately, neglected, and had subsequently to be replaced by a plaster ceiling.

The fine specimens of wood carvings by Grinling Gibbons, representing fish, game, fruit, etc., are, happily, still preserved, and if there were no other treasures in the Castle Gibbons's work would still be worth a visit from lovers of wood carvings.

In decorating the new apartments Charles did not rely exclusively upon the work of these men. The rooms, when they were completed, he hung with tapestry, and filled with beautiful paintings and handsome furniture. His improvements were not confined to the interior of the Castle. In front of the Star Buildings he enlarged the Terrace which Queen Elizabeth had built; and along which she usually took her noon walk. He formed the East and South Terraces. Further afield he filled the park with deer; built Cumberland Lodge; began the planting of the 1652 trees which now comprise the magnificent avenue known as the three-mile Long Walk, of which it has been said that "imagination cannot picture an approach of greater magnificence, produced by circumstances which ages alone could

bring about, and of which ages alone can produce a rival." He also constructed an ornamental lake for wild-fowl. Indeed an entire chapter would not be too much to devote to the improvements made to Windsor Castle during this reign, but words become unnecessary because the Castle, the State Apartments, the Park, the Long Walk, are there to be seen by anyone who cares to take the trouble to visit Windsor.

The inimitable Pepys, who would have given away a few years of his busy life rather than miss meeting anyone of importance, or not visit some place of fame or ill-fame, naturally did not fail to pay a visit to Windsor Castle. On the 25th of February, 1666, he left London for Windsor. On the 26th he was "called up about five in the morning, and my Lord (Sandwich) up, and took leave, a little after six, very kindly of me and the whole company. So took Coach and to Windsor, to the Garter, and thither sent for Dr. Childe (Organist), who come to us and carried us to St. George's Chapel, and there placed us among the knights' stalls; and pretty the observation, that no man, but a woman, may sit in a Knight's place, where any brass plates are set, and hither come cushions to us, and a young singing boy to bring us a copy of the anthem to be sung. And here, for our sakes, had this anthem and the great service sung extraordinary, only to entertain us. It is a noble place indeed, and a good Quire of Voices. Great bowing by all the people, the poor Knights in particularly, to the Altar. After prayers, we to see the plate of the chapel, and the robes of Knights, and a man to show us the banners of the several Knights in being, which hung up over the stalls. And so to other discourse very pretty, about the Order. Was shown where the late king is buried, and King Henry the Eighth, and my Lady Seymour. This being done, to the Kings house, and to observe the neatness and contrivance of the house and gates: it is the most romantique castle that is in the world. But, Lord! the prospect that is in the balcone in the Queen's lodgings, and the terrace and walk, are strange things to consider, being the best in the world, sure; and so, giving a great deal of money to this and that man and woman, we to our tavern, and there dined, the Doctor with us; and so took coach and away to Eton, the Doctor with me."

By this time Charles was beginning to feel that he sat more securely on his throne and already he was indulging in some of

his many illicit *amours*. His capacity for loving was illimitable, and when he himself penned the following lines:

I pass all my hours in a shady old grove,
But I live not the day when I see not my love;
I survey every walk now my Phillis is gone,
And sigh when I think we were there all alone,
O then, 'tis O then, that I think there's no hell,
Like loving, like loving too well.

he was probably not exaggerating his emotions. Of Charles it might truly be said that he was in love with being in love. His marriage could scarcely be described as unhappy and, though he sometimes spoke of divorcing Catherine of Braganza, he was far from miserable in his domestic married life. Probably he felt for Catherine a comfortable attachment, a mild affection which she reciprocated. Nevertheless, though Catherine was always at hand to soothe him, Charles was never truly happy unless he had at least one mistress with whom he could spend the hours in a merry carousal or an amorous interlude. Only at such times could he forget the heavy burden of kingship which was forever threatening to crush his not very vigorous spirit. Charles may have been a "Merry Monarch," but in common with the clown his laughter concealed his sighs, and behind the saturnine eyes and the sensual mouth was the soul of a man who was wearied by life.

At one time or another most of his mistresses visited Windsor Castle. Pretty, Witty Nelly when she went to Windsor was lodged in Burford House—indeed, the only letter Nell Gwyn was known to write was dated from that address. Some idea of Charles's lavishness in affairs connected with his mistresses may be gained from the fact of Verrio's having been commissioned to paint the staircases there. The Duchess of Portsmouth was more fortunate than Sweet Nell. She was allocated four rooms in one of the new buildings, which were known as the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings. Lady Castlemaine was also there, and on one occasion Pepys wrote: "I did hear that the Queen is much grieved of late at the King's neglecting her, he having not supped once with her this quarter of a year, and almost every night with my Lady Castlemaine; who hath been with him this Saint George's feast at Windsor, and came home with him last night."

In 1668 the Castle was indirectly connected with a scandal, in which its Constable, Lord Mordaunt, was the leading character. It appears that, in 1660, Lord Mordaunt caused one William Tayleur first to be ejected from some lodgings within the Castle, and then later, did ". . . cause the said William Tayleur to be forcibly, illegally, and arbitrarily seized upon, by his soldiers, in the prison of the said Borough, . . . and carried him out of the said prison, into the said Castle, without any warrant but their swords . . ." This illegal act was to prevent the election of Tayleur to the House of Commons.

Upon Tayleur's petitioning the House Mordaunt was later impeached. These proceedings were ultimately nullified by the prorogation of Parliament, but in consequence of them the appointment of Lord Mordaunt as Constable was revoked by letters patent, and Prince Rupert was appointed in his stead.

Although I have already dealt with the vast improvements made to the Castle, at this time they had not yet been completed. Evelyn, visiting there on the 28th of August, 1670, found that "Windsor was now going to be repaired, being exceedingly ragged and ruinous. Prince Rupert, the Constable, had begun to trim up the keep, or high round Tower, and handsomely adorned his hall with furniture of arms, which was very singular, by so disposing the pikes, muskets, pistols, bandoleers, holsters, drums, back, breast, and head pieces, as was very extraordinary. Thus, those huge steep stairs ascending to it had the wall invested with this martial furniture, all new and bright, so disposing the bandoleers, holsters, and drums, as to represent festoons, and that without any confusion, trophy-like. From the hall we went into his bed-chamber, and ample rooms hung with tapestry, curious and effeminate pictures, so extremely different from the other, which presented nothing but war and horror.

"The King passed most of his time in hunting the stag, and walking in the park, which he was now planting with rows of trees."

In 1674 the Feast of the Garter was celebrated at Windsor. One of several such occasions it would have no interest here except for one fact. On that occasion John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, was installed as a Knight of the Garter. Sheffield is the man who purchased the property immediately west of St. James's Park. He then pro-

ceeded to build a magnificent house which was named after him. This was the Buckingham House which eventually became Buckingham Palace.

Three months later Evelyn again visited the Castle. Once again the entry which he made in his famous Diary is worth recording:

"In one of the meadows at the foot of the long terrace below the Castle (Windsor), works were thrown up to show the King a representation of the City of Maestricht, newly taken by the French. Bastions, bulwarks, ramparts, palisadoes, graffs, hornworks, counterscarps, &c., were constructed. It was attacked by the Duke of Monmouth (newly come from the real siege), and the Duke of York, with a little army, to show their skill in tactics. On Saturday night they made their approaches, opened trenches, raised batteries, took the counterscarp and ravelin, after a stout defence; great guns fired on both sides, grenadoes shot, mines sprung, parties sent out, attempts of raising the siege, prisoners taken, parleys; and in short, all the circumstances of a formal siege, to appearance, and what is most strange, all without disorder, or ill accident, to the great satisfaction of a thousand spectators. Being night it made a formidable show. The siege being over, I went with Mr. Pepys back to London, where we arrived about three in the morning."

During the passing years Charles had, in his own way, tried to woo the unsettled country to peace. It was a task which would have been beyond the capabilities of most men. There were so many divergent policies, so many prejudices to be considered and propitiated. The Parliamentarians and the Royalists continued to rattle their sabres and to eye one another uneasily. If Charles had listened to the advice of his most loyal supporters there would have been renewed terror in the land, for the Royalists would have struck back at the Parliamentarians, with a resultant agglomeration of sentences ranging from fines and imprisonment to death. In addition there arose the question of restoring property confiscated by the Commonwealth. The men who had supported the Stuarts through battle, death, and exile naturally expected recompense and the return of all they had once legally owned. But some of these properties had, in the interim, passed through several hands, and had been legally purchased by their present owners. Only by doing injustice to one set of people could justice be done to another.

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Religious differences were greater than ever. No longer was one either a member of the Church of England or a Papist. To complicate matters for the vacillating King, besides members of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England there were Non-Conformists—Anabaptists, Calvinists, Quakers—and all sects and all religions loathed one another with ferocious bitterness.

Lastly, there was the conflict between national pride and national trade. The Dutch were outstripping the British in world trade. A war with Holland seemed a likely solution, especially if the French could be persuaded to ally themselves to Britain. Unfortunately the Dutch were Protestants, the French were Papists, and Britons did not relish the idea of an alliance with hated Papists against esteemed Protestants. Trade or religion? Which? What answer could one expect of a nation of shopkeepers? War on Holland was declared.

How often the country was on the brink of civil war during his reign probably only Charles and his advisers knew, but the King, by never saying a Foolish Thing, nor ever doing a Wise One, succeeded in maintaining peace. He did so only at the expense of his health. Beneath the mental strain of satisfying his male subjects, and the physical strain of satisfying his female mistresses, he aged rapidly. During his residence at Windsor in 1679 he suffered from an illness which was apparently severe enough to cause the Mayor and Corporation in September to visit the Castle to congratulate His Majesty upon his recovery. They arrived at the Castle "in their scarlet gowns to congratulate with His Majesty in the name of the City upon his happy recovery from his late illness, which expression of their duty and affection, His Majesty was very well pleased with, and commanded they should be honourably entertained at dinner, as they were by the principal officer of the Green Cloth there, the Lord Maynard Comptroller of His Majesty's Household."

This visit of the Corporation apparently cost a matter of fifteen shillings, for the corporation accounts show:

September	To the yeomen of the Guard			
	when the Corporation went to			
	kiss the King's hand	00	10	00
	To Mr. Chiffinch's man for			
	waiting	00	05	00

On the 24th of August the *London Gazette* published the following notice: "Lost of His Majesties upon Thursday August 21 between Windsor and Burnham, an Entermewed Juss Faulcon, having newly mewed her long Feathers, with the King's Varvels. Whoever gives notice to William Chiffinch Esq. at the Court at Windsor shall be well rewarded." It is unlikely that the King himself lost this falcon for this same issue of the *London Gazette* announces the King's recovery from cold. Subsequently Charles had a relapse, and had to be bled for the ague, but he was not long ill for on the 2nd of September the Gazette reports: "The King continues thanks be to God, so well, that He has been this morning to see the Queen, and walks up and down the House; so that in all appearance His Majesty is out of danger of the return of His distemper. This morning His Royal Highness the Duke of York arrived here, contrary of expectation, and told His Majesty that hearing of his indisposition he thought he could do no less than come to wait upon Him, and see how he did; adding that he was ready as soon as His Majesty pleased, to return to Flanders or any other part of the world His Majesty should command him to go to."

The following summer, when Charles was at Windsor, he again suffered from illness. In May he was attacked by ague upon several occasions.

Two months later friend Evelyn was again at the Castle. This time he "went with his wife and daughter to Windsor, to see that stately court, now near finished. There was erected in the court the King on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, at the expense of Toby Rustate, a page of the back stairs, who by his wonderful frugality, had arrived to a great estate in money, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his master, which cost him £1000. He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature."

In 1681 Windsor was the scene of a "solemn trial of an extraordinary engine lately invented by Sir Samuel Morland." This engine appears to have been a pump capable of forcing water "mingled with a vessel of red wine to make it more visible" from a level below the park gate to the top of the Castle, "and from thence into the air above sixty foot high, to the great admiration of their Majesties, and all the beholders as well

Foreigners as others, who unanimously concluded that this was the boldest and most extraordinary experiment that has ever been performed by water in any part of the world."

The following summer the Ambassador of the King of Bantam, Java, visited Windsor Castle. He was conducted into the King's Presence Chamber "several of his Retinue carrying Lances, and two of them umbrellas, besides two of his master's servants, who also carried two umbrellas over his letter of credence and his Presents, such as use to be carried, by the same persons over the King himself (which they looked upon as a great piece of state). Being come with the chief of his attendants into the presence (the ordinary servants with their Lances remaining in the Guard-chamber, and they that carried the two great umbrellas having leave to come and stand within the Presence door), they made their obeisance as they approached His Majesty's throne, by bowing of their heads, and the ambassador having delivered his letters, and a present of Diamonds from the King of Bantam to His Majesty, they sat down, after the manner of their country, at His Majesty's feet (being with them the most respectful posture) and made a short speech to His Majesty declaring the high esteem the King of Bantam had of His Majesty, and how desirous he is of His Majesty's friendship, &c. To which His Majesty having been pleased to return a very obliging answer, the Ambassador retired, and was carried to the Duke's side, where a very splendid dinner was provided for him. In the evening he visited His Highness Prince Rupert, to whom he presented the two great umbrellas and the next day he returned to London, having seen Hampton Court, and the Duke of Lauderdale's House at Ham, in his way."

The reign of Charles II approaches its close, for Charles died on the 6th of February, 1685. The period from 1660 to 1685 was a glamorous one in the history of Windsor Castle. It was a revival, not perhaps of the *glories* of olden days, but at least—to use once more a word I have already considerably overworked—of the pageantry of the Courts of the Tudors and the Plantagenets. It was an extraordinary age, one of duels, of scandals, of depravity, of bribery, and corruption in high places, of intrigues—but still colourful. The *romantic* history of the Castle almost ceased with the death of Elizabeth, but for Charles II it would have done so, for, after the death of Charles II the Castle ceased to be, as one writer deftly describes it, "the stage

of great historic drama." It is no longer a fortress or a stronghold, it is no longer a prison, it is, in a sense, no longer a palace. It is domesticated—a home rather than a palace.

That is not to say it becomes less interesting, but in painting its history one must use a different execution. It is no longer a case of broadly splashing bright colours, bold outlines, and high lights upon a huge canvas—the background becomes so small in comparison that one must use only pastel shades, and limn the characters with a more delicate touch.

Forward, then, to James II, who possessed most of his brother's faults, and few of his virtues.

CHAPTER XX

FARMER GEORGE

CHARLES II, said Buckingham, "could see things if he would; the Duke [James II] would see things if he could." How truly do those few words summarize the characters of the two brothers. Because Charles was able to interpret the wishes of the people he saved the crown for the Stuarts. Because James had not that facility he lost the crown for the Stuarts.

James reigned but four years. In that time he visited Windsor upon several occasions, but little of great importance happened. On the 18th of June, 1685, at a meeting of the Chapter of the Garter, the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth was expelled from the Order in the time-honoured manner, his hatchment being pulled down from his stall and kicked into the Castle ditch. The following year James II's daughter, the Princess Anne, later to be Queen Anne, gave birth at the Castle to one of her sixteen children. Like the other fifteen the child died in infancy.

That same year James put into practice his religious intolerance which was to bring about his downfall, by ordering the use of the Latin service at St. George's Chapel and providing vestments and other ornaments from Secret Service payments. He further commanded the ceiling of the tomb-house to be decorated by Verrio. The following year he committed an even worse folly by receiving at the Castle the Pope's Nuncio. Such was the excitement caused by this visit that the "town of Windsor was so full of all sorts of people, from all parts, that some of the inhabitants were astonished; and it was very difficult to get provisions or room either for horse or man; nay, many persons of quality, and others, were forced to sit in their coaches and calashes almost all the day.

"So great were the expectations of all people to see this ceremony, supposing it to be greater than ordinary, by reason

there has not been any public minister of state from the Pope, for about one hundred and forty years, that hath made any public entry as I am informed.

"All the spectators supposed he would set out a little after noon, but did not till between five and six of the clock in the afternoon; at which time his excellency took coach, it being one of His Majesty's, for that purpose, at his own lodgings, the Duke of Grafton and Sir Charles Cotterel being in the coach with him; His Excellency was clothed in purple, and a gold crucifix hanging at his breast.

"The first that appeared in this ceremony was one of the knight marshal's men on horseback, and after him two others followed on foot; after them went his excellency's footmen, being twelve in number, their coats being all of a dark-grey coloured cloth, with white and purple lace. After them followed the coach of state, in which was his excellency having four pages to attend him, two on each side, taking hold of the coach; their coats were very richly laced. His excellency had three coaches, with six horses a-piece in each coach. Immediately after his excellency, in two of his coaches, were ten priests, his coach of state going empty. After them went the lord chancellor's, two of the lord president's, the lord privy seal's, and the lord chamberlain's coach. There were eighteen coaches more besides them, with six horses a-piece; in which number the Lord Bishop of Durham's was one, and the Bishop of Chester's another. In this order they went up to the Castle, where they stayed about a quarter of an hour, and then his excellency returned back to his lodgings."

Pageantry of this nature was *not* what the people desired to see. Inflamed with religious enthusiasm they attacked the Wolsey's Chapel where Mass had been celebrated, and quickly left it in a ruinous state—as it remained until the middle of the nineteenth century. Later, when it was realized that James was definitely biased in favour of the detested papists, the country began to seethe with discontent. It needed only the famous episode of the arrest of the seven bishops to bring matters to a head. Secret negotiations with William of Orange took place and William was asked to bring over an army to England. William agreed, and in November of 1688 he landed in Torbay. James marched with an army to meet the invader, but a series of desertions caused him to retreat, and although ultimately he returned to London, it was not for

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long. In the meantime William of Orange marched east and after an engagement with the King's troops, he stayed at Windsor Castle for four days, sleeping in rooms once occupied by Will Chiffinch, and dining in the King's dining-room. A few days later James resolved to flee the country. His attempt was unsuccessful; he was discovered, and taken to Faversham. Later he was again in London, but as before, not for long. On the 23rd of December he escaped from Rochester and for the second time set sail for France; this time he reached there in safety. So finishes the short, inglorious reign of James II, the last of the Stuart kings.

James neither abdicated nor was deposed. His going left the throne vacant—a rare happening. With no king to summon a new Parliament, a Convention was called. The members of the Convention met on the 22nd of January, 1689, and after a great deal of discussion it was decided that William of Orange, grandson of Charles I, should be crowned King, and his wife, Mary, daughter of James II, Queen. Mary, of course, was, by hereditary right, the next in line of succession, but William refused to be a prince consort, so the Convention agreed to crown him joint monarch with Mary.

It is useless to devote much attention to these monarchs. Mary reigned but five, and William thirteen years. For him they were thirteen troubled years which must often have caused him to wonder whether the reward were worth the responsibility. He was popular with none of his subjects, to retain his crown he had to crush riots and uprisings in Ireland and Scotland, and to contend with Jacobite plots at home, and he was robbed, after five years, of his dearly loved wife.

As far as this work is concerned, although William and Mary, and later, William alone, were occasionally guests at the Castle, there is nothing to record concerning the visits. It is only necessary to say that, by taking in some waste land William increased the size of the Little Park, and that he completed the Long Walk which Charles II had begun.

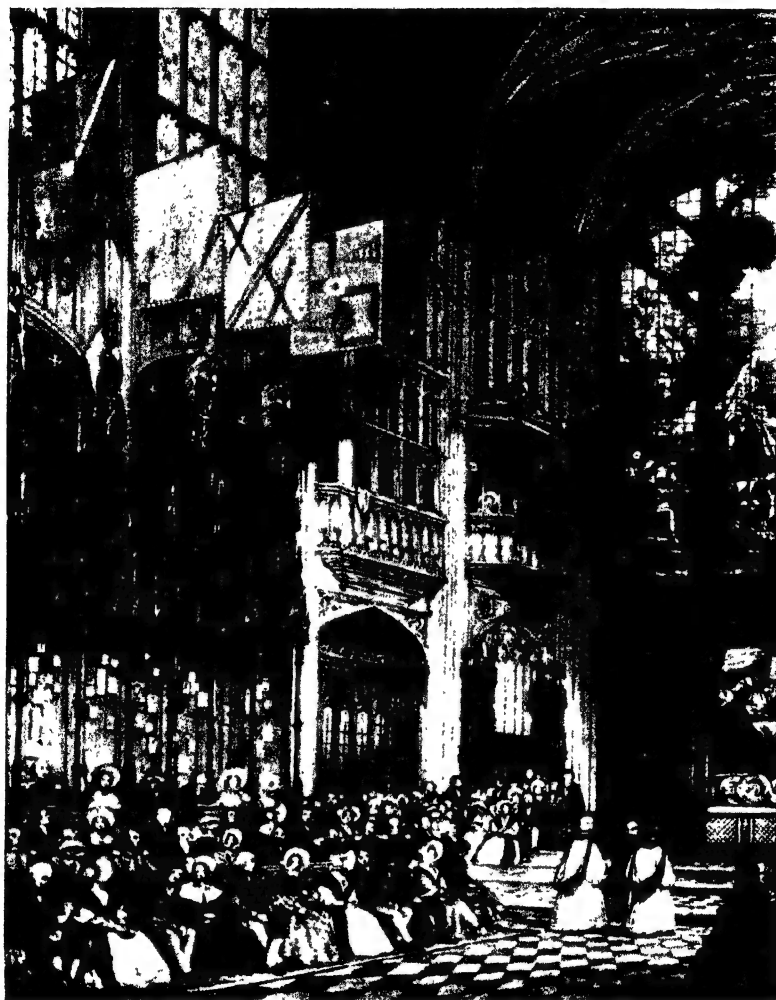
On the 20th of February, 1702, William fell from his horse and broke a collar-bone. This apparently trifling injury led to his death, on the 8th of March. That same day Mary's sister, Anne, was proclaimed Queen of England.

Anne's reign concerns this story very little more than that of



From Pyne's Royal

Queen Anne's Bedchamber



A service in St. George's Chapel

William and Mary. Anne was Mary's younger sister; her husband was Prince George of Denmark, one of the most inconspicuous of men. She and her husband certainly spent more time at the Castle than did Mary, for some of her children were born there, and some died there. Nevertheless, although, first as Princess and then as Queen, Anne was quite frequently at the Castle, when there "she would daily withdraw from the royal lodgings and the state and splendour of a great and victorious Court to enjoy a happy retirement."

This "happy retirement," incidentally, was often to Burford House where Nell Gwyn, the mistress of her uncle, Charles II, had once lived. Yet Anne was not always so retiring; there were occasions when she went hunting in a light one-horse chaise, specially constructed to hold only herself. "It was on very high wheels, and was driven in front of the whole body of hunters. It did fearful mischief, as it was forced wherever the stag was pleased to take them, and this was often into fields of standing corn. The farmers about were loud in their complaints whenever the cortège moved off the royal ground."

Apart from such incidents of the chase there are, unfortunately, no other anecdotes of Anne's occupancy of the Castle so, once again, it is necessary to pass quickly on, not to the next sovereign, George I, or even George II, but to George III who ascended the throne in 1760.

It is a long jump from 1685 to 1760. The jump from William, Mary, and Anne is longer still, for George I, who succeeded Anne, was, before he became King of England, a German Prince. At the time of Anne's death there were fifty-three people who possessed a stronger hereditary title to the throne, but notwithstanding this, the British people preferred George Lewis, Elector of Hanover. George Lewis derived his title from James I, whose daughter Elizabeth had married Frederick, Elector Palatine. This marriage produced, among others, Sophia, who was the mother of George Lewis.

From George Lewis, who became George I, the line was direct, George II being the son of George I, and George III the grandson of George II. In comparing the character of George III with that of his grandfather or great-grandfather one finds cause for amazement. So different was he from his ancestors that he might have been a changeling.

George I was a boorish, dull, indolent monarch who was content to leave the government of a country he did not like, and whose language he could not speak, in the hands of his ministers. He asked little more of life than that he should be left in peace to enjoy the caresses of his several German mistresses. He seldom went to Windsor, and his neglect of the place is mentioned by Lady Elizabeth Lechmere in a letter in which she expressed astonishment that "the King should not choose to be there sometimes; it has so much the air of a palace than his house here, and the parks so beautiful, and Hyde Park here, at his garden gate, so shamefully kept."

George II had a more likeable character than his father, but even that still left much to be desired. Short in stature—"the little Captain"—irascible, pugnacious, holding a lively Court in which women of notoriety were *not* received—this description applied to mistresses other than "royal"—"Dapper" George was, nevertheless, quite as immoral as his father had been. He, too, surrounded himself with mistresses, but at least he revealed more taste in the matter of their choice. Like his father, George II did not care much for Windsor, and though Walpole wrote that "his Majesty designed to make Windsor the place of his chief residence in the summer season," it does not seem that the King carried out this intention.

Perhaps George II found Windsor a boring place to frequent. If so his opinion was shared by that famous letter-writer, Lord Chesterfield, who addressed Major Irwine as follows:

"The installation is to be at Windsor on this day fortnight, the 29th; it is a foolish piece of pageantry, but worth seeing once. The ceremony in the Chapel is the most solemn, and consequently the silliest, part of the show. The tickets for that operation are the pretended property of the Dean and Chapter. I will take care to procure you one. I will also try to procure you a ticket for the feast, though it is full late. There you will dine very ill and very inconveniently; but, however, with the comfort of hearing the style and titles of the puissant knights proclaimed by Garter King at Arms. I take it for granted that Mrs. Irwine is to be of your Windsor party, and I will endeavour to accommodate you both as far as I can. She made you too favourable a report of my health; which you have too easily believed, from wishing it true.

It is vegetation at most, and I should be very sorry if my fellow-vegetables at Blackheath were not in a more lively and promising state than

Yours, etc."

George III was, in every way, utterly dissimilar. His moral life was above reproach; he took a very keen interest in the government of the country—too keen an interest in so far as his ministers were concerned—he disliked Court life, preferring to spend his spare hours in the comfortable domesticity of his own home, and what is most important of all as far as this work is concerned, he did enjoy living at Windsor. Although he was attached to the Castle, during the first eighteen years of his reign little of consequence happened there. Then, in 1778, the Castle was found unsuitable to the domestic habits of the King and Queen and their numerous progeny, so George ordered the erection of a private house. The Queen's Lodge, as it was called, was built, at the cost of £44,000, opposite the south terrace. Apparently it was "executed from the plans of his Majesty, whose taste for practical architecture is well known. The exterior possessed no architectural character, and was, in fact, plain even to meanness."

To understand why, with all the buildings comprising the upper ward from which to choose, the King found it necessary to build a detached residence for himself and his family, is a mystery which can only be explained by closely studying the character of the King. It has already been mentioned that he disliked Court life. This is, indeed, an understatement. George so disliked ceremony, formality, ostentation and pomp that he never failed to take advantage of any opportunity which afforded escape from such surroundings.

In London he forsook St. James's Palace, which had been the principal residence of the two first Georges, and purchased Buckingham House. There he lived with his wife and family in as much seclusion as a monarch can obtain, there his many children, with the exception of George IV, were born. Official functions, of course, continued to be held at St. James's Palace.

George was, at heart, a rustic. Simplicity was the keynote of his character, and at Windsor, more than anywhere else, this trait was permitted a free rein. There are a score of amusing anecdotes concerning the King's wanderings through the

Windsor countryside. Clad in "light grey farmer-like morning Windsor uniform," sometimes mounted, sometimes on foot, he would ride or walk for miles, making frequent stops to chat with farmers or their wives, or to admire a fat pig, or a healthy bull. "Farmer" George the lampoonists of that day called him.

Both the King and Queen were fond of walking into the town of Windsor and doing their own shopping there. Apropos of this homely habit, and also of his partiality for interfering in political matters, during the General Election of 1780 when Admiral Keppel stood as candidate for Windsor the King did not hesitate to do all he could to prevent the Admiral's election. On one occasion he entered a draper's shop, and said, peremptorily, "The Queen wants a gown, wants a gown. No Keppel. No Keppel." The town was not slow to take the Royal hint. Keppel was not elected.

On another occasion, when the King was hunting, he stopped at the cottage of an old woman in order to learn from its occupant how the apple got inside the dumpling.

The diaries of the famous Madame D'Arblay are another source from which a picture of the King's domestic manners may be obtained. In the following words she describes one of the typical family processions which daily took place on the terraces of the Castle:

"The King and Queen, and the Prince of Mecklenburg, and Her Majesty's mother, walked together. Next them the princesses and their ladies, and the young princes, making a very gay and pleasing procession, of one of the finest families in the world. Every way they moved, the crowd retired to stand up against the wall as they passed, and then closed in to follow."

Two years later Madame D'Arblay writes:

"To have the pleasure of seeing the Royal Family in this happy assemblage, I accompanied Miss P—— on the terrace. It was indeed an affecting sight to view the general content; but that of the King went to my very heart, so delighted he looked—so proud of his son—so benevolently pleased that every one should witness his satisfaction. The terrace was very full; all Windsor and its neighbourhood poured in upon

it, to see the prince, whose whole demeanour seemed promising to merit his flattering reception; gay, yet grateful—modest, yet unembarrassed.”

From the foregoing it will be realized that George III used Windsor Castle as a home only. No Courts appear to have been held there, no brilliant functions to remind one of a glorious past. In the meantime, from our knowledge of the history of the Castle, we may safely assume that, after such a long period of years during which little or no attention was given to repairs, the Castle was once more beginning to suffer the consequences of neglect.

There was one part of the Castle, however, to which the King gave his very earnest attention—St. George's Chapel. Perhaps this is not surprising when one considers his very real piety. George III worshipped God with a quiet sincerity which failed to communicate itself to most of his children. It was this spirit of worship which, no doubt, urged him to try to restore the Chapel.

These repairs were begun about 1787, and apparently not before they were needed, for a contemporary letter, dated the 20th of June, 1786, describes St. George's Chapel as being an elegant Gothic Chapel, perhaps the finest in the world for beauty and splendour, but dirty and neglected to such a degree as to become a nuisance to the eye and a reproach to the sextons. The correspondent goes on to say that an elegant monument of the Beaufort family was tumbling into ruins, some of the principal figures thereon being supported by common cords or ropes. Other monuments were completely ruined, and the pavement of the Chapel would be a disgrace to a barn.

All these “reproaches” George set out to correct, and “In the present day, when so many of our ancient monuments have been reinstated in their pristine beauty and magnificence, we can scarcely appreciate the difficulties attendant upon the earlier attempts at such undertakings. Considering the state of modern gothic architecture in general down to the beginning of the present century the restoration of the interior of St. George's Chapel in 1787 is an event of great interest in the history of its revival, and the credit of the distinguished success with which it was accomplished, is undoubtedly due to the sound judgment and taste of His Majesty George III, at whose private expense

it was principally effected, and by whose injunction the models furnished by the original building were scrupulously followed."

The work occupied nearly three years, but according to some critics the time taken and the not inconsiderable expenditure of money were not wasted. Others inevitably condemned the alterations as being in bad taste. The Chapel was repaired, a new altar screen, organ loft, and organ were erected, and a considerable portion of the carving renewed, including several entire stalls. These new stalls, by the way, appear to have considerably annoyed that indefatigable correspondent, Horace Walpole. Writing to Lady Ossory, he says:

"You may know, perhaps, that in days of yore, the flaps of seats in choirs of cathedrals were decorated with sculptures, sometimes with legends, oftener, alas! with devices, at best ludicrous, frequently not fit to meet the eye of modesty! Well, madam, two new stalls being added in the church of St. George at Windsor, as niches for the supernumerary knights that have been added, the costume has been observed and carried on in the new flaps—not to call up a blush in the cheek of Mother Church, but in the true catholic spirit; one of the bas reliefs I do not know, but probably the martyrdom of St. Edmund the King; the other is the ineffectual martyrdom of George the King by Margaret Nicholson. The body-coachman is standing by, to ascertain the precise moment. If you had not heard of this decoration, I will not say, madam, that I had no news to send you; at least I may subscribe myself, your ladyship's humble clerke and antiquarie, H. W."

In addition to the work already described the mullions and tracery of the east window over the altar were removed, and the space was filled in by painted glass, after West's original design of the Resurrection. The substitution of this window for the previous stonework naturally aroused a storm of criticism, but there was one at least who did not hesitate to express enthusiasm for the change. This was Madame D'Arblay, who wrote:

"Miss P. went with me to St. George's Chapel, which was this morning opened, with West's picture of the Resurrection, on Jarvis's painted glass. I have already said my say

upon it, and can only add that this solemn old chapel is extremely beautified ('a vile phrase!') by this superb window.

"The crowd was so great, that we had difficulty to get entrance; and but for Mr. Battiscomb, who perceived us, and assisted us to pass on, we might have been left in the midst of the mob. And even when admitted, we had still no seats, and the people said none were to be had: but on Miss P.'s speaking to me aloud, by my name, a clergyman went up to her, and said: 'Is Miss Burney here?' and immediately offered me a seat in his own stall. It proved to be a canon, Mr. Majendie. I sat very near his handsome wife, whom I took this opportunity to address, begging her to make my thanks. She talked to me then of Norbury, and we formed just the acquaintance for which alone I have time or inclination—that of a little intercourse upon accidental meetings without any necessary consequence of appointed interviews.

"The King was to make an offering, as Sovereign of the Garter. He was seated in the Dean of Windsor's stall, and the Queen sat by his side. The Princesses were in the opposite seats, and all of them at the end of the church.

"When the service was over, the offering ceremony began. The Dean and the senior Canon went first to the communion table: the Dean then read aloud, 'Let your light so shine before men, &c.' The organ began a slow and solemn movement, and the King came down from his stall, and proceeded with a grave and majestic walk, towards the communion table. When he had proceeded about a third of the way, he stopped, and bowed low to the altar: then he moved on, and again, at an equal distance, stopped for the same formality, which was a third and last time repeated as he reached the steps of the altar. Then he made his offering, which, according to the order of the original institution, was ten pounds in gold and silver, and delivered in a purse: he then knelt down, and made a silent prayer, after which, in the same measured steps, he returned to his stall, when the whole ceremony concluded by another slow movement on the organ."

Later in the reign George III contemplated further improvements. For this purpose James Wyatt was promoted to the office of surveyor-general in 1796. At that time Wyatt was

already a noted architect, and was more particularly associated with having originated the revival of interest in Gothic architecture. Wyatt began the series of operations which were so successfully continued in subsequent reigns. He constructed a Gothic staircase at the entrance to the State Apartments, improved some of the domestic comforts of the Castle, and particularly altered Sir Christopher Wren's windows in the "Star Building" and elsewhere.

Another alteration about this time was the removal of the prison at the entrance to the lower ward, described as being "a disgrace, not only to the sight, but to the feelings." The building which housed this prison was converted to the use of the garrison, and a guard-room, magazine and apartments for officers were constructed.

Something now might be said of the reign of George III. Checking his natural inclination toward indolence he had tackled his task of ruling the country with great industry. As King his chief worry was his prejudiced idea of the Royal prerogative, and this ultimately involved him in bitter political strife. By his proclamation against immorality, and his own unblemished conduct, he achieved a mild popularity, which would probably have been far greater had he not lacked personal glamour. Indeed, the simplicity of his life ultimately irritated his subjects who did not hesitate to express their displeasure at their monarch's isolation.

Later in his reign George set himself the task of fighting the Whig oligarchy which had reigned supreme for more than forty years. He succeeded in doing this, but only after a ten-years' battle, during which the King unblushingly used the Whiggish tactics of bribery and corruption. The strain of these years, however, caused George to suffer a grievous illness, during which signs of mental derangement—first apparent during an illness in 1763—again became manifest. He was at Windsor at that time, and probably he would have preferred to have remained there until his health returned to him, but, unfortunately, upon the appearance of the Prince of Wales who had been summoned to the Castle from his beloved Brighton, the King became infinitely worse. It is said that, at the sight of his son, the King rushed violently at the Prince, seized him by the collar and flung him against the wall. Thereupon the Prince was so overcome that he burst into tears. In these circumstances his doctors prevailed

upon him to leave for Kew. Apparently he was so ill that "almost all Windsor was collected . . . to witness the mournful spectacle of his departure, which left them in the deepest despondence, with scarce a ray of hope ever to see him again."

Upon the departure of the King the Prince of Wales took over the direction of affairs at the Castle, and among other things he had all the King's jewels and papers sealed up. Perhaps he thought it would not be long ere they were his, but his father proved more robust than many believed. George III recovered his health, and returned to Windsor again, attended by a large party of gentlemen. So great was the general rejoicing at His Majesty's recovery that "everything and everybody" were smiling and lively. As all Windsor had turned out to witness the King's going, so they gathered again to hail his return, and subscribed forty guineas for fireworks.

This second sad derangement was subsequently followed by similar attacks, some of which were definitely brought on by the escapades of the Prince of Wales. George III was ill in 1786, 1803, 1804, and again in 1811. This time the derangement was permanent, and to add to the troubles of the unfortunate man he also became blind. It is impossible not to feel sad at the thought of how George III passed his last nine years. He still retained bodily health, but otherwise he was little better than a helpless idiot. For greater convenience in looking after him he was removed from Queen's Lodge to a suite of apartments in the Castle, and there he remained, a pathetic figure, attending divine service every morning until the 29th of January, 1820, when he quietly passed away.

The lying-in-state took place on the 15th of February, and George III was buried the following night in St. George's Chapel.

A thirteenth-century doorway in one of the buildings of the lower ward.



CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST GENTLEMAN OF EUROPE

JUST as I have a personal liking for the Tudor monarchs, so have I a personal distaste for George IV. I have utterly failed to discover one characteristic of his—other than that emphasized later in this chapter—which atones, to any considerable extent, for his profligacy, his dissolute life, his faithlessness, his ingratitude, and his lack of personal honour. This preference, perhaps too frankly expressed when I wrote the story of another Royal palace, subsequently occasioned the rebuke contained in this paragraph, that George IV had the misfortune “to reign at an epoch when the middle class was emerging into power, so that his activities were immediately misrepresented by a class to which ‘taste’ and ‘art’ were apt to be synonymous with waste and licentiousness.”

As a youth, and later, as a man, George IV had every opportunity of preparing himself for the great task—which he knew would one day be his—of reigning over a rapidly increasing Empire. He was fortunate in having a receptive mind which enabled him easily to assimilate knowledge, he was placed in the care of the finest tutors in the land, and, with his brothers and sisters, his work and recreation were adequately supervised. He was a healthy child, and well nourished. He had everything in his favour. Yet, early in his life, he began to reveal unpleasant tendencies—rudeness, disrespect, lying, drinking, an addiction to low company.

At nineteen he was given a separate establishment, at Buckingham House (now Buckingham Palace), at Kew, and at Windsor Castle, and introduced to that circle of society in which it should have been his pleasure to mix. Unfortunately, he became influenced by two vicious men, the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke de Chartres, and his own life of vice was not slow to begin.

From that time until he became King little of note in connec-

tion with him happened at Windsor. He was often there, but probably not at the same time as his father. After his marriage to Caroline of Brunswick the newly-married couple spent part of their honeymoon at the Castle. The marriage had been forced upon George for political reasons, and as he was far from sober during the marriage ceremony, it is not difficult to imagine that the honeymoon was an unpleasant time for both of them. Very shortly afterward they separated for all time.

This is not the place to argue where the fault lay—whether George IV was naturally vicious, or whether his vices were indirectly caused by early repression, and reaction from the ordered living forced upon him and his brothers and sisters by his parents. The more important fact is that George IV continued to be as dissolute a prince as history had ever known. Like the first two Georges, the second Charles, the fourth Edward, and other monarchs before him, George IV, first as Prince of Wales, then as Prince Regent, and lastly as King, had innumerable mistresses, but what was more unpleasant in George IV's instance, was the fact that he had less interest in keeping mistresses than in pandering to the more vicious taste for seducing a constant succession of fresh—and young—victims.

George IV had his faults, Heaven knows! but it is the purpose of this book not to dwell upon his weaknesses, but rather to emphasize his virtues. That is, if an exceptionally well-developed artistic appreciation can be classed as a virtue. George IV was a connoisseur—to his enthusiasm and ardent pursuit of things artistic the present Royal Family largely owe thanks for the treasures which to-day grace the Royal palaces. Charles I was a collector also, but many of his fine pictures and other pieces of *virtu* were either plundered or destroyed, or sold for the benefit of the Commonwealth. Charles II inherited his father's love for the arts, and during his reign he did his best to restore some of the plundered treasure. From Charles II to George IV none of the sovereigns had a taste for collecting. It was left to George IV to make up for lost time—and he did so in no uncertain manner.

In pursuing his ambition to assemble one of the world's finest collections of treasures he spent colossal sums of money, which he did not possess, but on every occasion Parliament eventually settled for his debts. They did so only after George had promised to reform, but George had an elastic conscience, and

after each promise to be good in future he was soon spending money as freely as ever.

In his collecting of treasures he was helped considerably by the French Revolution. For various reasons the shops of the pawnbrokers and second-hand dealers of Paris were filled to overflowing with pictures, furniture, clocks, and *objets d'art*. Many of these things were purchased by the Prince Regent through the agency of an astute buyer. These same purchases now form part of the King's Collection at Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, and elsewhere.

The Prince Regent's mania for collecting was not restricted to women and art treasures. He also, figuratively speaking, collected new buildings. In the course of his life he spent a vast fortune on either building or altering Carlton House, that monstrosity at Brighton called the Pavilion, St. James's Palace, Buckingham Palace, and last, but not least, Windsor Castle.

At the time of George IV's accession, Windsor Castle was in—what to the reader will be the familiar—extremely bad state of repair. The buildings which constituted the upper ward had become quite unfit for the residence of a sovereign. Besides the lack of accommodation—for each successive sovereign appears to have required more accommodation than his predecessor—it was impossible to proceed from the State Apartments in the north wing to any of the buildings in the south wing without having to cross the quadrangle—which in cold or blustery weather was far from a pleasant necessity.

Early in the new King's reign a decision was reached to convert the buildings of the upper ward into a more comfortable residence. For this purpose the House of Commons agreed to allocate a sum of £150,000, after it had been informed by the Chancellor that the alterations were for the improvement of the private apartments of the sovereign, by the formation of proper communications, the restoration of the State Apartments, the establishment of direct access to the State Apartments from the private apartments, the removal of many tasteless and incongruous additions and alterations to the exterior of the building, and the clearance of obstacles then in the path of direct communication between the Castle and the Long Walk.

Competitive plans for these proposed alterations—the most extensive ever carried out at the Castle at one time—were submitted by several architects, and the good fortune of being chosen

fell to Jeffry Wyatt—a nephew of the James Wyatt already mentioned, with whom Jeffry served his apprenticeship.

On the 12th of August, 1824, the first stone of the new work was laid by the King—and on that same day Wyatt—for some mysterious reason—changed his name to Wyattville.

For the next few years work on the Castle continued without interruption, but in 1830 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire the reason for Wyattville's expenditure being considerably greater than his original estimate. The architect was asked to give an explanation.

"The estimate," he said, "was made when the King was residing in the Castle. I could not go and strip the apartments to see the walls and the timber when the King was there, and therefore they were calculated as any person might do a probable expense. When the King retired, and I stripped the walls, the timbers were all found rotten, and necessarily the whole of the floors were removed, and they were then renewed with iron joists and brick arches, that they might not get rotten hereafter; and the roof was in an equally bad state, and obliged to be taken off also, and many of the walls were cracked through, and many holes had been cut in, the Castle having been divided into different residences; it was very much dilapidated by each inhabitant cutting closets and cutting through the walls without any regard to the destruction of it. Then when the roof was removed, and there were not sufficient rooms for the King's servants, advantage was taken to put the roof higher, and make another story over, which of course would increase the estimate. The foundations in many instances were very bad; I was obliged to go 12 or 14 feet down, when I did not expect to go two: in one instance I went 25 feet down in the foundation; in another 30. I need not detail all the particulars, but they are in that sort of strain; they are all on this paper. Every place I opened was the same. The other day I had some of the timbers opened of the State Apartments, and a man brought me a basket of rotten wood down from the timbers."

Wyatville's first estimate for the total repairs was £122,500. Before the east and south wings were finished the commissioners, appointed in 1824 for carrying the alteration into effect, inspected the work, and sanctioned an additional expenditure of £100,000 less £27,500 of the original estimate still unappropriated. This additional sum was not sufficient, and up to January, 1830,

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recommend Charles, when he has taken his degree, to be attached to some of the diplomatic missions, which I think is best for the lad, after all. After breakfast, went to Windsor Castle, and examined the improvements going on there under Mr. Wyattville, who appears to possess a great deal of taste and feeling for Gothic architecture. The old apartments, splendid enough in extent and proportion, are paltry in finishing. Instead of being lined with heart of oak, the palace of the British King is hung with paper, painted wainscot colour. There are some fine paintings, and some droll ones; among the last are those of divers princes of the House of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, of which Queen Charlotte was descended. They are ill-coloured, orang-outang-looking figures, with black eyes and hook noses, in old-fashioned uniforms. . . ."

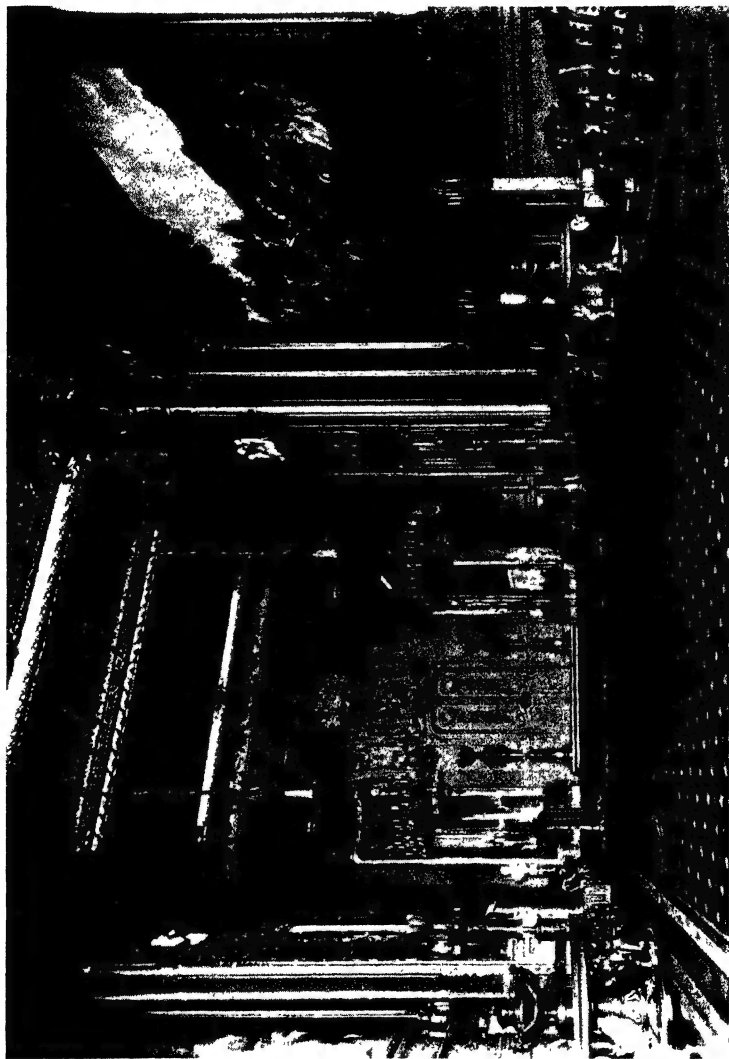
A little less than two years later another writer records:

"Attended divine service at St. George's chapel at eleven. Any well-dressed persons obtain seats in the stalls. I suppose they all pay something. I gave the sexton half a crown. Servants and inferior persons seemed to sit in the lower seats and benches on the floor, without any special leave. More of the service chanted than is usual in cathedrals. Most of the prayers and the Nicene Creed. It was all very well done, but very long—about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Dr. Clarke and Mr. Proby the canons present. The latter preached tolerably—a sermon appropriate to the season."

There, at Windsor Castle, while his health gradually failed, George dragged out the last few years of his life taking large quantities of laudanum to prevent the increase of his dropsical and gouty swellings, drinking an excessive amount of cherry brandy, lying all the day in bed, and passing the night in restless wakefulness.

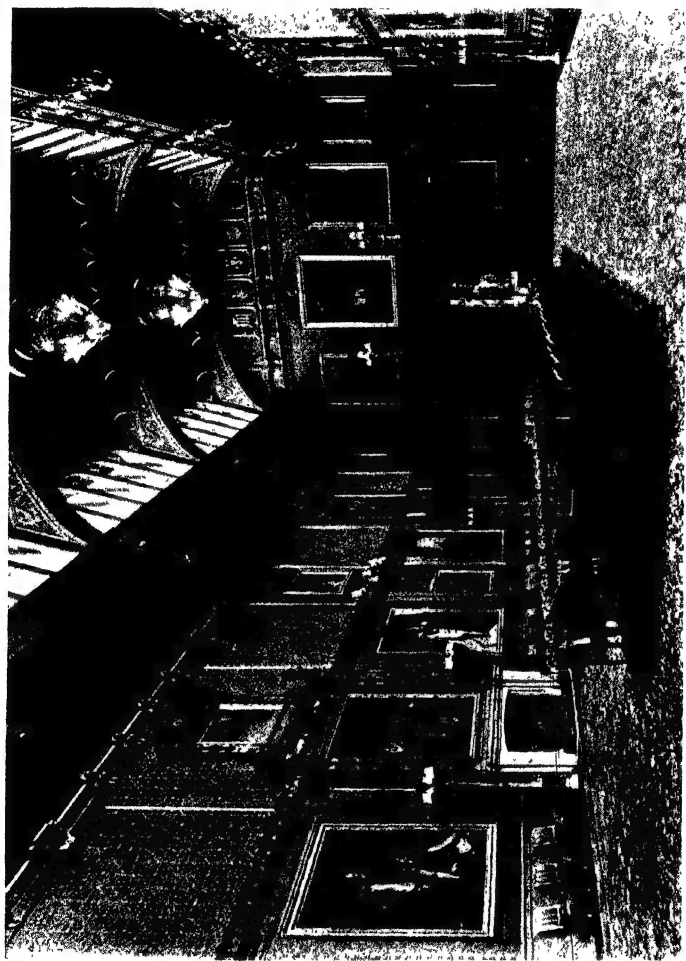
In the February of 1830 he became partially blind, and began to suffer from delusions—now he was commanding a division at Waterloo, now he was riding the winning horse at Goodwood. It was apparent to all save himself that he was sinking. Nevertheless he managed to live on, and on the 12th of April went out driving. That was his last drive.

He grew steadily worse. On the 8th of June he was told by his physicians that his end was near. The news did not alarm



Country Life

Grand Reception Room. Decoration in the style of Louis XV, executed by Wyattville
for King George IV. Tapestry, Gobelines of the late 18th century



Country Life

Waterloo Chamber. The site of this room was originally a courtyard. Observe the resemblance to a ship's cabin, which is attributed to the fact that William IV, then King, had served in the Royal Navy. Many pictures by Lawrence

him, but still he lived on, possessing a constitution that must have been very like his father's. Not until the night of the 25th of June did the end come, and then he died suddenly—an unhappy, lonely man.

George IV was succeeded by William IV—"Silly Billy" to some of his critics. The nickname was not a fair one. William, Duke of Clarence was not a genius, but some of his kingly acts prove him not to be the stupid fool his contemporary opponents would have us believe. He was just a bluff, kindly, garrulous "sea-dog," subject to occasional outbursts of passion, who had no especial wish to be King, but who fulfilled the task thrust upon him to the best of his abilities.

Like his brother, William was a comparatively elderly man when he ascended the Throne, being in fact sixty-five years of age. His reign was shorter than that of George IV, and was almost as little connected with Windsor Castle as those of the first two Georges. He made himself responsible for the continuance of the work of improving the buildings in the Upper Ward, and it was during a banquet at Windsor Castle that his enmity with the Duchess of Kent, mother of Queen Victoria, caused a mild scandal.

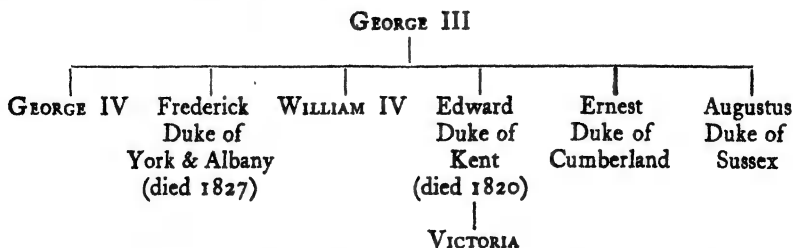
According to Greville, "it is very remarkable that the thing has not been more talked about. The King invited the Duchess of Kent to go to Windsor on the 12th of August to celebrate the Queen's birthday (13th), and to stay there over his own birthday, which was to be kept (*privately*) on the 21st (the real day, but falling on Sunday) and *publicly* the day following. She sent word that she wanted to keep her own birthday at Claremont on the 15th (or whatever the day is), took no notice of the Queen's birthday, but said she would go to Windsor on the 20th. This put the King in a fury; he made, however, no reply, and on the 20th he was in town to prorogue Parliament, having desired that they would not wait dinner for him at Windsor. After the prorogation he went to Kensington Palace to look about it; when he got there he found that the Duchess of Kent had appropriated to her own use a suite of apartments, seventeen in number, for which she had applied last year, and which he had refused to let her have. This increased his ill-humour, already excessive. When he arrived at Windsor and went into the drawing-room (at about ten o'clock at night), where the whole

party was assembled, he went up to the Princess Victoria, took hold of both her hands, and expressed his pleasure at seeing her there and his regret at not seeing her oftener. He then turned to the Duchess and made her a low bow, almost immediately after which he said that 'a most unwarrantable liberty had been taken with one of his palaces; that he had just come from Kensington, where he found apartments had been taken possession of not only without his consent, but contrary to his commands, and that he neither understood nor would endure conduct so disrespectful to him.' This was said loudly, publicly, and in a tone of serious displeasure. It was, however, only the muttering of the storm which was to break the next day. Adolphus Fitzclarence went into his room on Sunday morning, and found him in a state of great excitement. It was his birthday, and though the celebration was what was called private, there were a hundred people at dinner, either belonging to the Court or from the neighbourhood. The Duchess of Kent sat on one side of the King and one of his sisters on the other, the Princess Victoria opposite. Adolphus Fitzclarence sat two or three from the Duchess, and heard every word of what passed. After dinner, by the Queen's desire, 'His Majesty's health, and long life to him' was given, and as soon as it was drunk he made a very long speech, in the course of which he poured forth the following extraordinary and *foudroyante* tirade: 'I trust in God that my life may be spared for nine months longer, after which period, in the event of my death, no regency would take place. I should then have the satisfaction of leaving the Royal authority to the personal exercise of that young lady (pointing to the Princess), the heiress presumptive of the Crown, and not in the hands of a person now near me, who is surrounded by evil advisers and who is herself incompetent to act with propriety in the station in which she would be placed. I have no hesitation in saying that I have been insulted—grossly and continually insulted—by that person, but I am determined to endure no longer a course of behaviour so disrespectful to me. Amongst many other things I have particularly to complain of the manner in which that young lady has been kept away from my Court; she has been repeatedly kept from my drawing-rooms, at which she ought always to have been present, but I am fully resolved that this shall not happen again. I would have her know that I am King, and I am determined to make my authority respected,

and for the future, I shall insist and command that the Princess do upon all occasions appear at my Court, as it is her duty to do.' He terminated his speech by an allusion to the Princess and her future reign in a tone of paternal interest and affection, which was excellent in its way.

"This awful philippic (with a great deal more which I forget) was uttered with a loud voice and excited manner. The Queen looked in deep distress, the Princess burst into tears, and the whole company were aghast. The Duchess of Kent said not a word. Immediately after they rose and retired, and a terrible scene ensued; the Duchess announced her immediate departure and ordered her carriage, but a sort of reconciliation was patched up, and she was prevailed upon to stay till the next day. The following morning, when the King saw Adolphus, he asked him what people said to his speech. He replied that they thought the Duchess of Kent merited his rebuke, but that it ought not to have been given there; that he ought to have sent for her into his closet, and have said all that he felt and thought there, but not at table before a hundred people. He replied that he did not care where he said it or before whom, that 'by God he had been insulted by her in a measure that was past all endurance, and he would not stand it any longer.'"¹

Subsequently a reconciliation was effected, but probably this was one of the most astonishing scenes which ever took place at Windsor Castle. Yet later there was another scene, almost as fantastic. Fully to appreciate the anecdote one should, perhaps, explain that William, second son of George III, had ascended the Throne owing to George IV having left no issue. William IV also had no legitimate issue, so that the heir-presumptive to the Throne was Victoria, only child of the deceased Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III.



¹ See Appendices for further extracts from Greville's *Memoirs* relating to Court life at Windsor Castle.

Cumberland, the most despicable of all George III's sons, was—for obvious reasons—an arch-supporter of the Salic law, and it was this conviction which was responsible for the following curious scene, which occurred shortly before the death of William IV.

Cumberland, it seems, had long been urging William to some unconstitutional act regarding the succession to the Throne—which, one can well believe, was the recognition, at the expense of Victoria, of Cumberland as first in the line of succession. Because of his hatred of the Duchess of Kent, William had, if rumour is to be believed, seriously considered taking such a step, but one night at Windsor Cumberland over-reached himself. After dinner, the Duke rose to propose the toast of "The King." "The King's health! God save the King!" he called out. The toast was drunk by the King's suite.

"Then the Duke asked the King if he might propose another toast. The King gave his consent. 'The King's heir,' cried the Duke, 'and God bless *him*!'

"The assembly were stupefied, the King was completely overwhelmed. There was a painful silence, then, jumping to his feet, the King cried: 'The King's heir, God bless *her*!' He drank the toast, threw his glass over his shoulder, and speaking directly to his brother said: 'My crown came with a lass,¹ and my crown will go to a lass.' "

Considering William's previous attitude toward Victoria and her mother it is a little difficult to understand this change of front, but it appears that the Duke of Cumberland refused to drink the toast as proposed by the King, so William informed his brother that there was no necessity for either of them to meet again. Possibly they never did, for, a few months later, William died, and Victoria reigned in his stead.

¹ The Electress Sophia of Hanover, through whom George I claimed descent from James I.

CHAPTER XXII

VICTORIA THE GREAT

QUEEN VICTORIA'S early associations with Windsor, though brief, have a peculiar interest for us moderns, for they unconsciously point the contrast between the comparatively leisurely lives led by George IV and William IV and the life of continuous, unremitting devotion to duty which the great little Queen led.

The temptation to quote Queen Victoria's own words, written in her later years, is strong, her descriptions are so exact and her style eminently suited to the telling.

"In the year '26 (I think) George IV asked my Mother, my Sister and me down to Windsor for the first time; he had been on bad terms with my poor father when he died,—and took hardly any notice of the poor widow and little fatherless girl, who were so poor at the time of his (the Duke of Kent's) death, that they could not have travelled back to Kensington Palace had it not been for the kind assistance of my dear Uncle, Prince Leopold. We went to Cumberland Lodge, the King living at the Royal Lodge. Aunt Gloucester was there at the same time. When we arrived at the Royal Lodge the King took me by the hand, saying: 'Give me your little paw.' He was large and gouty but with a wonderful dignity and charm of manner. He wore the wig which was so much worn in those days. Then he said he would give me something for me to wear, and that was his picture set in diamonds, which was worn by the Princesses as an order to a blue ribbon on the left shoulder. I was very proud of this,—and Lady Conyngham pinned it on my shoulder. . . .

"None of the Royal Family or general visitors lived at the Royal Lodge, but only the Conyngham family; all the rest at Cumberland Lodge. . . . I . . . was driven about the Park and taken to Sandpit Gate where the King had a Menagerie—with

wapitis, gazelles, chamois, etc., etc. Then we went (I think the next day) to Virginia Water, and met the King in his phaeton in which he was driving the Duchess of Gloucester,—and he said ‘Pop her in,’ and I was lifted in and placed between him and Aunt Gloucester, who held me round the waist. (Mamma was much frightened.) I was greatly pleased, and remember that I looked with great respect at the scarlet liveries, etc. (the Royal Family had crimson and green liveries and only the King scarlet and blue in those days). We drove round the nicest part of Virginia Water and stopped at the Fishing Temple. Here there was a large barge and every one went on board and fished, while a band played in another! There were numbers of great people there, amongst whom was the last Duke of Dorset, then Master of the Horse. The King paid great attention to my Sister, and some people fancied he might marry her!! She was very lovely then—about 18—and had charming manners, about which the King was extremely particular. . . . I came after dinner to hear the band play in the Conservatory, which is still standing, and which was lit up by coloured lamps—the King, Royal Family, etc., sitting in a corner of the large saloon, which still stands.

“We lived in a very simple, plain manner; breakfast was at half-past eight, luncheon at half-past one, dinner at seven—to which I came generally (when it was no regular large dinner party)—eating my bread and milk out of a small silver basin. Tea was only allowed as a great treat in later years. . . .”

The account of this visit is all the more interesting since, until her accession, Queen Victoria’s visits to Windsor were rare, intentionally so. From the day of her arrival in England the Duchess of Kent was subjected to veiled and even overt insult at the hands of her brothers-in-law, the Prince Regent and the Royal Dukes, and when, on the 24th of May, 1819, a daughter was born to her, she became the object of their lively antagonism. The Prince Regent attended his niece’s christening under compulsion and caused a most unbecoming scene; he was callously indifferent when, in 1820, the Duke of Kent died, leaving his widow alone and penniless in, to her, a foreign land. Small matter for surprise, then, that the Duchess of Kent only allowed Princess Victoria to visit her uncle when under all but compulsion to do so. William IV seems to have shared his brother’s unpleasant attitude and the fact that the Duchess of Kent

deliberately kept her child away from loose-living Court circles while displaying little or no tact in her own behaviour served to incense him further.

Victoria ascended the Throne on the 20th of June, 1837, and this young girl of eighteen brought a freshness and a degree of decency to the monarchy which it had lacked since the days of the Regency. Her mother's upbringing may have been strict, secluded and narrow, the child may have, in some measure, suffered, but the woman proved a magnificent justification of the methods employed. There can be little doubt that the English nation owes an immense debt of gratitude first to the Duchess of Kent for the excellent education and moral grounding which she afforded her daughter, and secondly, to King Leopold of the Belgians, whose sound political and constitutional views did so much to train one whose natural abilities enabled her to derive the utmost benefit from both influences.

The Windsor which George IV and Wyattville had combined to evolve at enormous expense had never come into its own under the ailing old George IV or the bluff, undignified William IV, but with Victoria's accession, it could no longer complain for there commenced an association which lasted throughout the Queen's life.

Remembering her experience there in 1836 it is small wonder that on the 25th July, 1837, Queen Victoria wrote her Uncle Leopold that ". . . Windsor requires thorough cleaning and I must say I could not think of going in sooner after the poor King's death. Windsor always appears very melancholy to me, and there are so many sad associations with it. . . ." That this impression was very soon altered is proved by an extract from a letter which the Queen wrote on the 3rd of the following October; referring to her recent stay at Windsor she says: ". . . the *pleasantest summer* I have ever passed in my life. . . ."

In connection with Windsor, we are afforded an example of that delicacy which we have come to associate with members of our Royal Family. At the time of William IV's death his Queen, Adelaide, was in residence there and one of Victoria's first acts was to write the Dowager Queen begging her to remain at Windsor for as long as she chose and, when she did leave, to take such furniture with her to her new home as she cared to select. Furthermore, from her privy purse, the Queen continued the grants, made by William IV, to his five illegitimate sons by

Mrs. Jordan; the Dowager Queen's letters of appreciation for this considerate courtesy are preserved among the Victorian Correspondence.

Victoria was rapidly feeling her way through the complicated paths of constitutional politics, devotedly assisted by Lord Melbourne, the Whig Prime Minister, but her youth and inexperience led her into errors of which the Opposition Tories took full advantage. Scurrilous criticism and innuendo appeared in print, and much capital was made of the fact that Lord Melbourne was the Queen's constant visitor whenever she was at Windsor or elsewhere; he usually dined with her at least two or three times a week whenever she was in town, while when the Court was at Windsor, he would stay several days at a time. The mornings were usually spent on business, but in the afternoons the Queen would command twenty or thirty of her guests and her household to accompany her on those long rides of which she remained passionately fond throughout her active life. The cavalcade would set out, and the gaiety and high spirits of the Queen, as she talked to first one and then another of those accompanying her, brought pleasure to the hearts of the worthy burgesses of Windsor. Etiquette at Windsor was formal, but not severe. Dinner was a pleasant meal during which the Queen's newly formed orchestra played, afterwards there was dancing several times a week, or else a concert or private theatricals, but, in any case, the gentlemen did not remain at table longer than a quarter of an hour after the Queen and ladies had retired to the drawing-room, because she had early allowed it to be understood that she and her ladies would remain standing until they were joined by the gentlemen. This was a hint, immediately accepted, that the young Queen would not tolerate the heavy drinking which, until then, had been the usual practice of a gentleman, even when in the company of ladies.

The Queen continued serenely, conscientiously trying to fit herself for her onerous duties anent which, at the time of her coronation, Carlyle is said to have remarked: "Poor little Queen! She is at an age at which a girl can hardly be entrusted to choose a bonnet for herself, yet a task is laid upon her from which an archangel might shrink." It is to her everlasting credit that never for one moment, throughout the whole of her life, did she so shrink. The wise, disinterested counsel of her uncle (her mother's brother and the husband of George IV's

ill-fated daughter, Princess Charlotte), King Leopold, was ever at her service and, in her earlier years, she had frequent recourse to him, though she never failed to tell him frankly if she considered that he was overstepping his advisory capacity. Above all things she was grateful to him for his sponsoring of Prince Albert.

It appears certain that from childhood Prince Albert had been considered as the most possible husband for Victoria. Indeed the Prince's whole education seems to have been supervised with the object of fitting him for this difficult position. That Queen Victoria had for some long time been aware of this project is proved by various references in her letters to her uncle. At first she is mildly interested, then she appears to hesitate, advancing her youth and newly acquired duties as reasons for delay and further consideration. She is most anxious that her uncle shall agree that she has made no promise of any sort. In September, 1839, she writes her uncle asking him to delay a proposed visit of Prince Albert and his brother whom she had not seen for three years, but whose career she had carefully followed, even to making suggestions to her uncle as to where his studies should be pursued. A while later she is a trifle piqued by their delay, for either through force of circumstance or in a spirit of natural independence, the brothers postponed their arrival for some nine days after the date which Queen Victoria had finally suggested.

On the 10th of October, 1839, the two Princes finally arrived at Windsor Castle but, since their baggage had been mislaid in the course of the journey, they were unable to attend the private dinner given in their honour; nevertheless they joined the company after dinner and, despite his homely travelling dress, Victoria found that Albert had become "*very fascinating*," but otherwise, her cousin's visit leaves her unmoved. Some magic in the air of Windsor or in the comparatively simple life which the Court led there wrought a miraculous change for, five days later, Queen Victoria writes her uncle:

"This letter will, I am sure, give you pleasure, for you have always shown and taken so warm an interest in all that concerns me. My mind is quite made up—and I told Albert this morning of it; the warm affection he showed me on learning this gave me *great* pleasure. He seems *perfection*, and I think that I have the prospect of very great happiness before me. I *love* him *more*

than I can say and I shall do everything in my power to render the sacrifice he has made (for a *sacrifice* in my opinion it is) as small as I can. He seems to have a very great tact—a very necessary thing in his position. These last few days have passed like a dream to me, and I am so much bewildered by it all that I know hardly how to write; but I *do* feel *very, very* happy.

"It is absolutely necessary that this determination of mine should be known to *no one* but yourself, and Uncle Ernest—till the meeting of Parliament—as it would be considered otherwise neglectful on my part not to have assembled Parliament at once to have informed them of it. . . . Lord Melbourne, whom I of course have consulted about the whole affair, quite approves my choice, and expresses great satisfaction at the event, which he thinks in every way highly desirable. Lord Melbourne has acted in this business, as he has always done towards me, with the greatest kindness and affection.

"We also think it better, and Albert quite approves of it, that we should be married very soon after Parliament meets, about the beginning of February; and indeed, loving Albert as I do, I cannot wish it should be delayed. My feelings are a *little* changed, I must say, since last spring, when I said I couldn't *think* of marrying for *three or four years*; but seeing Albert has changed all this. . . ."

The Princes remained at Windsor until the middle of the following month, and the Castle witnessed a simple happiness and fresh gaiety such as it had seldom known. But, after their departure, Queen Victoria had little time for distractions for business of State and trousseau became all-absorbing. She nevertheless found time to safeguard her health by daily walks, which she declared that she took in spite of "fog, mist, wind and cold." As long as her age and health permitted, the Queen was an exceedingly active woman; she was fond of playing ball or shuttlecock with her ladies, and of walking or riding. To this last sport she was strongly addicted, to the occasional consternation of some of her advisers, though, one fears, the extent of her indulgence in this respect would, in these days, be considered thoroughly innocuous. Perhaps this fondness for riding accounts for the excellence of the Royal stables throughout the Queen's reign. Her teams of eight perfectly matched creams have become a by-word and though her carriage horses have attracted

less attention they were among the finest in the world. The Royal coaches and carriages always moved at a fine pace in accordance with the Queen's express wish, so that it is not extraordinary to learn that she had a peculiar fondness for speedy horses. May this not be the characteristic responsible for her great-grandsons' keen appreciation of modern aeroplanes and speedy cars?

As is so often the case with Royalty's humbler subjects, the Queen's romance during the short period of her engagement did not run entirely smoothly. Party politics which, in the early years of Victoria's reign, caused feelings to run high with resultant bitterness and personal enmities, caused the Queen and Prince Albert considerable chagrin. When the questions of Prince Albert's precedence came up for discussion in the House, the Tory Opposition immediately seized upon this as an opportunity for contrarrying and goading the Whig Ministry. The Opposition manœuvred to such good purpose that not only was the Prince's civil list allowance whittled down to a figure considerably below that which was clearly sanctioned by precedent, but also the question of his precedence was left "in the air," thus submitting him to numerous petty indignities at home and abroad—an unforgivable, pointless pettiness in itself and one which should never have been allowed. The fact that Prince Albert was the son of only a minor reigning house was openly resented; it was also rumoured with utter falsehood that he was a Roman Catholic. The actual facts of the matter were that the rabid insularity of the upper classes of the early nineteenth century resented the Prince as a foreigner, and one whose outlook and tastes were utterly dissimilar to theirs. The Prince's training had resulted in a mind educated far above the majority of those with whom the Prince now had to mix—his conceptions of morality, foreign politics, and social welfare were far in advance of those existing in England at the time of his marriage. Albert may have been narrow-minded, and to some extent a prig, but the quality of his example and judgment was sorely needed, for Victoria had the blood of the Hanovers in her veins and, though her own conduct before Albert's advent was blameless, the two years of her reign as an unmarried girl evidenced her uncles' taste for pleasure, lavish entertaining, and careless expenditure. It is unlikely that, without Prince Albert's tactful guidance, her reign would have become

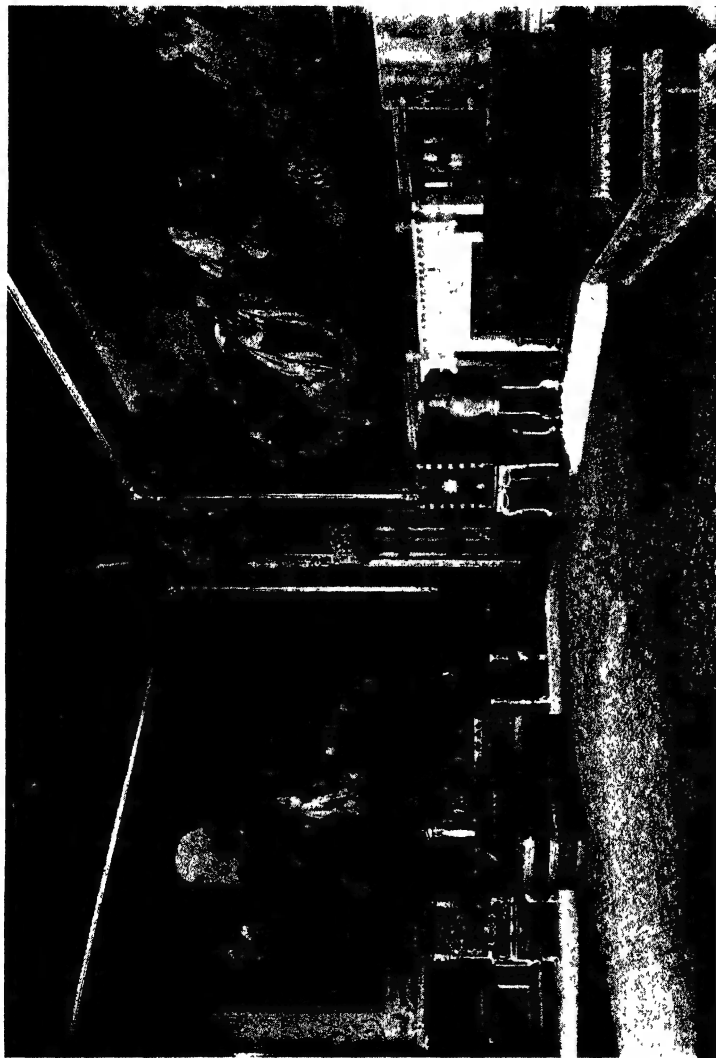
THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

such a fine example or have proved such a tremendous force for moral good.

Queen Victoria learned to rely upon Prince Albert's wise advice almost entirely, once he had mastered the features of English life and politics, but in the early days of their life together she did not hesitate to persuade him to adopt any course of action which she thought right, although (as throughout their married life) she invariably used gentle, pointed persuasion rather than any suggestion of command.

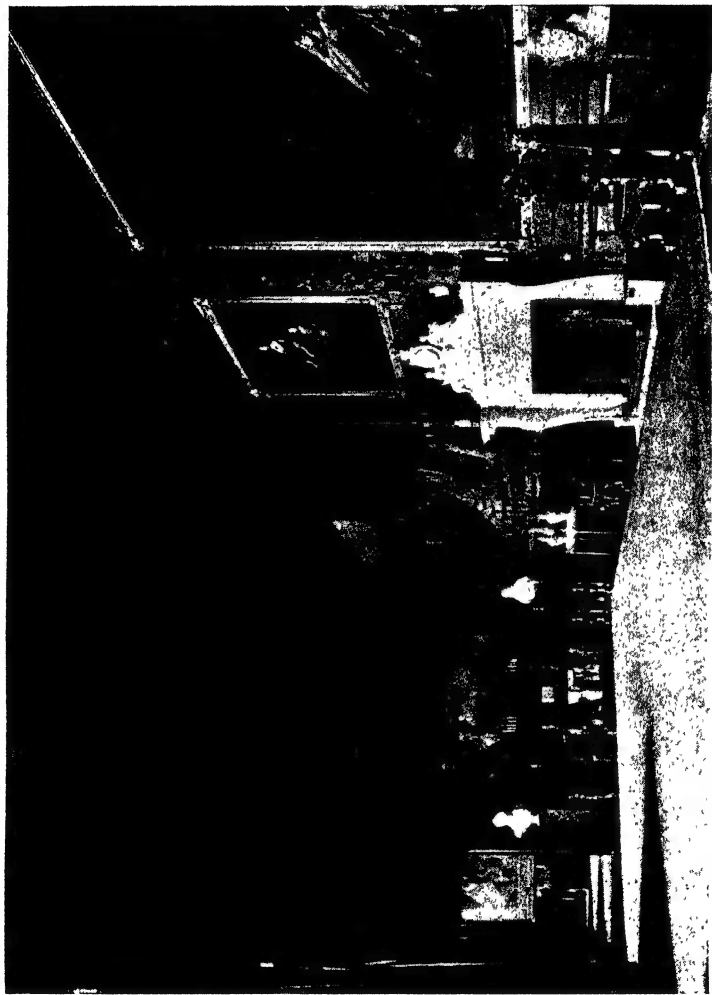
Victoria left Windsor early in the New Year and when next she visited the Castle it was late in the evening, and her carriage could scarcely make its way through the dense crowds, even though it was surrounded by a mounted escort and a guard of honour of enthusiastically yelling Eton boys. This was on the occasion of her brief four days' honeymoon in February. Two of these four days, be it noted, were given over to entertaining members of the family. Prince Albert, or the Prince Consort as he became later, was anxious that their stay at the Castle should be prolonged, but this, for State reasons, was impossible. This was not the Prince Consort's first intimation of the exigencies to which royalty is bound to submit. Almost without exception Ministers feared his interference in State affairs and possible influence with the Queen so that their apathy in face of the early slights with regard to his Civil List and refusal to define his rank are easily explained. That there was not the shadow of justification for this treatment was amply proved in later years, and it must be an Englishman's everlasting sorrow that a general realization of this came too late to reward the Prince Consort himself though it was manifested to some extent during his wife's lifetime.

In the following September, October, and early November the Royal couple were again at the Castle but, this time, life was quiet and as informal as etiquette permitted, for the Queen was expecting an heir to the throne. She returned to Buckingham Palace for a few weeks and on the 21st November, 1840, the Princess Royal was born. The amazing health and indomitable will of Queen Victoria are evidenced by the fact that three weeks later she was walking about the house "like myself again." A day or so before Christmas the Court removed to Windsor, and this in spite of the fact that, in those days, such a journey



Country Life

The Audience Chamber. Tapestry, Gobelins. Pictures by Honthorst



Country Life

The Queen's Presence Chamber. Compare this modern photograph with the picture, by Pyne, of the same room, facing page 273. The tapestries are Gobelins, late 18th century.

The picture over the door is of Frances Stewart, by Kneller

was fraught with what to our minds would be incredible inconvenience.

That first Christmas at the old Castle was a delightful affair, unmarred even by State business, while the growing love and mutual trust between husband and wife was preparing the way for that mediation which the Prince Consort was able to effect between the Queen and the Tories who were returned to power, for the second time in this reign, early in the New Year.

This time, largely owing to the Prince's foresight, tact, and excellent judgment, the change-over from the Whig to the Tory Ministry was effected without friction as between the Queen and her Ministers.

The Queen's upbringing had imbued her with very definite Whig sympathies which, in the earlier part of her reign, she had been sufficiently injudicious to express rather freely. To-day we are in the habit of considering politics from a comparatively lukewarm if not from an indifferent angle, consequently it is difficult to realize the intense bitterness and personal enmity with which they were associated throughout Victoria's reign. But it is necessary to realize this fact in order to appreciate the very considerable self-restraint which the Queen was forced to exercise, whenever the result of the polls compelled her to work with Ministers whom she found unsympathetic because of the party they represented or because of their personal convictions. Victoria always insisted upon being kept fully conversant with all State business and State appointments and, to the end of her reign, she signed all documents with her own hand, resolutely refusing to make use of a stamp in spite of her Ministers' repeated suggestions. All this, very naturally, necessitated close contact with her Prime Minister, entailing visits whenever she was out of London. Thus Sir Robert Peel, her first Tory Prime Minister, and his wife were occasional guests at Windsor Castle, but the Queen never became intimate with him to the extent that she had been with Lord Melbourne, the Whig leader, who throughout his life continued to be a guest at the Castle. With Palmerston, who eventually became Prime Minister, her attitude was strictly correct, but never cordial—his several visits to the Castle were as brief as courtesy on the part of his sovereign permitted. Strangely enough, the Queen completely changed her early political outlook as an almost direct result of her political association with Disraeli, the great Tory leader—his delicacy and

consideration in all his dealings with her, and the fact that his politics closely coincided with her own caused the Queen to hold him in high esteem. He and his wife were frequent and most welcome guests at the Castle. Gladstone the Queen regarded much as she had Lord Palmerston. She respected him and extended him every courtesy as the chosen representative of the country, but she never admitted him to her friendship. Death usually caused the Queen's deep sentimentalism to overlook characteristics and opinions which she had regarded with disfavour, but when she learned of Gladstone's death in 1898, two months after he had visited her at Windsor to proffer his resignation, she wrote from the Castle recalling his services to the country, but refraining from any personal commendation. This omission is emphasized by her attitude toward the deaths of Lord Melbourne and Disraeli. In each instance she wrote glowing tributes to their respective relatives, and eventually erected autographed tablets to their memory.

On the 9th of November, 1841, an heir to the throne was born, and on the 6th of December he was created Prince of Wales, and on that day the Court removed to Windsor, where Christmas was kept amid great rejoicings and particularly magnificent entertainments. The country was literally wild with delight at the birth of a direct heir to the reigning monarch, and high and low celebrated the christening of Prince Albert Edward which was held with much pomp in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

In 1825 the first railway company had been formed, in 1830 Liverpool and Manchester were connected by that new-fangled abomination, a railway. Pioneers of the railway met with opposition on every side but, nevertheless, continued to mar the fair country-side and insult horseflesh generally, so much so indeed that in 1838 the first line into London was opened. About this time the authorities concerned began to make plans for adding Frogmore House and grounds to the Windsor Castle estate, and for investigating reports that the actual disposition of the Castle grounds afforded the Royal Family little or no privacy, and that the general layout and state of the roads and paths left much to be desired. The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests eventually found that the reports were amply justified, and they were only prevented from commencing work at once by the lack of such a large sum as

would be necessary. There were now in existence two rival railway companies each with a line running toward Windsor, the South Western on the Surrey side of the Thames, and the Great Western on the Middlesex side. The Great Western line had a station at Slough which the Royal Family had already found a convenience for, prior to 1842, the Prince Consort had used it frequently to travel to London. In June of that year the Queen threw the department of the Master of the Horse into considerable consternation, by announcing her intention to travel from Slough to London by train. That the situation, with its complete lack of precedent, was successfully coped with by the Master of Her Majesty's Horse is attested to in one of the Queen's letters: "We arrived here (Buckingham Palace) yesterday morning, having come by the railroad, from Windsor, in half an hour, free from dust and crowd and heat, and I am quite charmed with it. We spent a delightful time at Windsor, which would have been still pleasanter had not the heat been such . . . that one is quite overcome; the grass is quite brown, and the earth full of wide cracks; . . . We rode and walked and danced, and I think I never was better than in all this fatigue and exercise. . . ." Five days later Lord Melbourne wrote the Queen—"Lord Melbourne was sure that Your Majesty, being fond of speed, would be delighted with the railway. Lord Melbourne hopes that Your Majesty was not much affected by the heat, which he feared that you would be. . . ."

This Royal patronage did much to silence the railway's hostile critics and gave the railways new hope. The Crown now found itself besieged by offers from the two rival companies, in respect of the privilege of continuing their respective lines through Windsor town. First one company and then the other gained the advantage but finally, by 1849, general satisfaction was reached, both companies were empowered to extend their lines to Windsor, and the Commissioners found themselves the richer by some £85,000. This sum they immediately devoted to the desired improvements which included, for the first time, the ensuring of a satisfactory supply of water to all parts of the Castle. One is inclined to conclude that the Great Western Company were slightly the victors in the struggle for their station is most conveniently situated almost opposite the Castle. Theirs, also, was the responsible task of conveying the magnificent gold plate. Before the War, the Royal Plate Vans often carried as

much as two tons of plate between the Castle and Buckingham Palace.

In the first seventeen years of her married life the Queen bore, in all, nine children, four sons and five daughters; all save the youngest son were remarkably strong, healthy men and women. In spite of this large family the Queen was in constant communication with her Ministers, a daily habit which was only broken for two or three weeks at the time of the birth of one or other of her children. The Queen, under the tutelage of Lord Melbourne and later of the Prince Consort, followed ever more closely the trend of politics, both domestic and foreign. In the course of years her conduct in domestic matters became an accepted pattern for our form of constitutional monarchy—the power of the Crown decreased in the measure that the influence of the Crown increased. The Queen's attitude in foreign affairs was, officially, strictly impartial, though in private her natural inclinations were strongly in favour of her German kindred and connections. Proof of this is given by the frequent invitations extended to her relatives, by the fact that she assisted from her privy purse at least two young ménages, and by her constant correspondence. On the other hand, in order to comply with the exigencies of foreign politics Victoria deliberately overcame her personal antipathy to a French monarch and received him on a State visit, paying him every courtesy and honour.

During these seventeen years many brilliant entertainments were held at Windsor Castle; the Queen's relatives were frequent visitors, most of the great political figures visited or were interviewed by her there. In June, 1844, the Czar stayed at the Castle, in the following August the Queen's fourth child, Prince Alfred, later Duke of Edinburgh, was born at the Castle, in the following October Louis Philippe, King of the French, was brilliantly entertained there and invested with the Order of the Garter. In 1848 Queen Victoria received Louis Philippe's wife and children in England, and later the ex-French King himself, granting them a safe asylum for life. In 1855 the Queen dismissed all personal feelings and received Napoleon III, fêting him at the Castle, and making the acquaintance of the Empress Eugénie to whom she became sincerely attached throughout their joint lives. The French Royalties were received with every mark of deference since we were anxious to conciliate our chief ally in the Crimean War which, breaking out early in 1854,

was not ended until the Peace of Paris in 1856. There was a review of troops at Windsor, a great State banquet, and a magnificent ball in the Waterloo Room. That a nephew of Napoleon I should dance with a grand-child of George III in, of all places, the Waterloo Room, was a fine piece of irony which did not escape Queen Victoria. In the same year another ally, King Victor Emanuel of Sardinia, was splendidly entertained at Windsor; his Royal hostess even rose at four in the morning in order to bid him good-bye.

The season of 1856 was a brilliant one. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were partial to long dinners and great banquets; both delighted in amateur and professional theatricals and concerts, and the Queen especially was exceedingly fond of dancing. Small wonder, then, that, when events in general seemed to justify it, the Royal pair set an example of lavish entertainment. Early in May the Princess Royal made her début, and almost immediately her betrothal to the eldest son of the Prince of Prussia, later to become the Emperor Frederick III of Germany, was announced. Although the mother of eight children and the bearer of a burden of State business by which any woman, let alone a Victorian woman, might have been crushed, the Queen was possessed of a remarkably youthful vitality; she was generally acknowledged to be a most graceful dancer. It is on record that, at a ball given at Windsor soon after the Princess Royal's betrothal, the Queen danced every dance, finally ending up with a Scotch reel!

In April, 1857, the Queen's youngest child, Princess Beatrice, was born. A month later the betrothal of her eldest child was officially announced in Berlin. Family and State visitors were received and brilliantly entertained while the Queen continued to combine State business and dancing with unabated energy.

In November the Prussian Prince again stayed at Windsor and the Queen found him "excellent and very sensible—and the young couple seem really very fond of each other." That Christmas, celebrated with much gaiety, was the first and last Christmas at Windsor at which the Queen, the Prince Consort, and all their nine children were together. In the following January the Princess Royal was married, and a year later gave birth to a son, who was ultimately to become the German Emperor Wilhelm II. Thus at the age of thirty-nine Queen Victoria became a grandmother. All the Queen's children were

married in her lifetime, all save one daughter had issue. Of Queen Victoria's forty grand-children, nine predeceased her; in all she had thirty-seven great-grandchildren, the eldest of whom was actually married in the Queen's lifetime.

During the year of 1860 the Queen continued to entertain right royally at Windsor; the Castle had been rendered far more convenient and up to date by recent improvements, and also by the addition of the Frogmore estate and the Royal kitchen gardens, so that it was an ideal place to receive Her Majesty's guests. It was frequently so used in spite of the growing attractions of Osborne and Balmoral, two estates which the Queen had purchased largely in response to the Prince Consort's taste for country quiet and seclusion. In that November Prince Louis of Hesse was a visitor at Windsor, and his engagement to the Queen's second daughter was announced. Again, Christmas at Windsor was a season of gaiety, accompanied by the great Christmas tree upon which the Prince Consort always insisted. Lord Palmerston and the rising Mr. Disraeli were guests at the old Castle. Apparently the younger statesman made the most of his opportunity, for as a result of his visit the Queen and Prince Consort found themselves far more inclined in his favour than hitherto.

As usual in November the Court entertained brilliantly at Windsor, but, alas! that year of 1861 was to be the last of such seasonable celebrations at the old Castle. The Duchess of Kent had died in the previous March, and the Prince Consort now learned that a close relative of his had suffered the loss of his entire family through typhoid; the Royal Family had been greatly upset in March, and this second loss, following so soon after, had a very deleterious effect upon the Prince Consort's morale. He began to sink into a state of lethargy from which it was difficult to arouse him and, as a consequence, the Queen was troubled, but not unduly worried and, at the beginning of December, preparations went on as usual for a merry family celebration of Christmas. Unexpectedly great tension suddenly occurred between England and the Northern States of America, where bitter civil war was in progress. Officials from the North had forcibly removed two Southerners from the protection of an English steamer early in November, but the news did not reach England until the end of the month. Immediately Palmerston and his Cabinet drew up a spirited protest couched

in the strongest terms and submitted it, as was customary, for the Queen's final approval. Such a communication was calculated to make a declaration of war inevitable, and this prospect immediately roused the Prince Consort as all else had failed to do. He urged the Queen to use all her influence in an effort to have the despatch modified in a manner consistent with England's honour. The document is still preserved which contains a rough draft in the Prince's handwriting, with several adjustments in the Queen's. The Royal counsel prevailed and war was averted with such tact that Americans have never ceased to be grateful, and, for them, Windsor Castle must possess the additional interest of having been the centre of debates on the result of which, according to Walt Whitman, the whole future of that great continent hinged.

This was the Prince Consort's last effort, for his lethargy and general lack of interest in life became worse with each day and, almost before the Queen had realized that her husband's illness was serious, the Prince died at the Castle on the 14th of December.

This death marked the beginning of a dreary phase in the domestic life of the Castle. The Queen was persuaded to leave before the funeral, and for a while she avoided the Castle entirely. Its memories were too poignant for the grief which wrote: "*My life as a happy one is ended . . . to see our pure, happy, quiet, domestic life which alone enabled me to bear my much disliked position, cut off at forty-two. . .*" One cannot but sympathize with the Queen and marvel that, less than a month later, she presided at a meeting of the Cabinet. From that moment, she never spared herself in the eternal "business" of the country, though she shut herself completely away from her people and social life for many years.

For some years after the Prince Consort's death all celebrations concerning the Royal Family were held amid a kind of muted rejoicing. Princess Alice's marriage celebrated at Osborne in the utmost privacy reads as though it were a funeral service. When the Prince of Wales welcomed his betrothed bride at Windsor Castle in 1863, and was married there, although the country loyally rejoiced, the Queen maintained her complete retirement and took no active part in the celebrations. The lives of the two younger Royal children must have been deeply influenced by the atmosphere of their mother's sorrow. The Queen never neglected her duty to the nation or her children;

THE STORY OF WINDSOR CASTLE

but the woman was as though mortally stricken and it seems scarcely to have occurred to her that others could not have been expected to feel the loss of the Prince Consort so intensely as herself. One cannot but deprecate the way in which all amusements were forbidden, even childish charades, and the attitude of mind which caused the Queen to sign herself "your unhappy mamma" several years after the sad event.

By degrees the Queen made concessions to duty and entertained those whom the interests of State made it necessary to receive, but while offering every courtesy which was required of her, the Queen left the bulk of the entertaining to the Prince of Wales and his wife; in this way the Sultan of Turkey was entertained with some magnificence at Windsor in 1867, later the Shah of Persia and Czar Alexander II were also the Queen's guests at the Castle. But these were only brief flashes in the general, rather gloomy peace which brooded over the Castle.

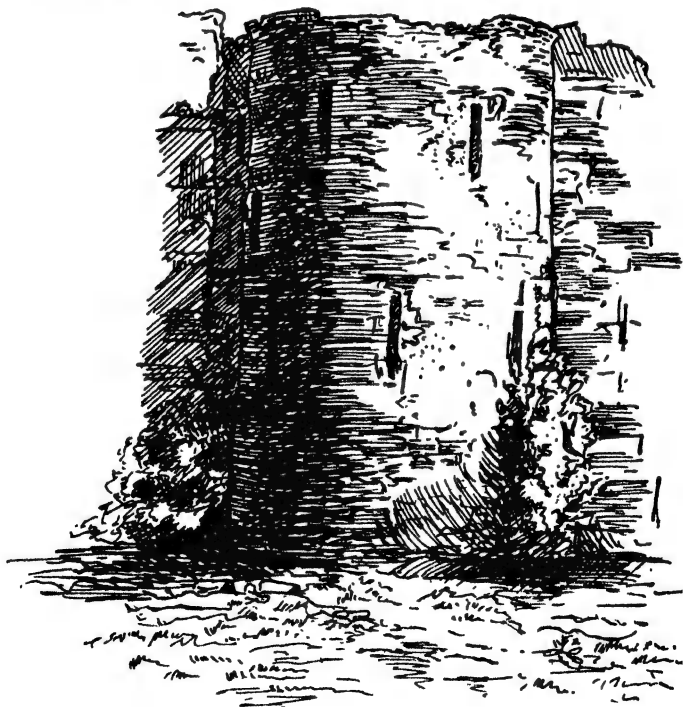
In 1871, while at the Castle, the Queen wrote the first of those letters addressed directly to the general public which later became rather a feature of the growing bond between the Queen and her people—the occasion was the Prince of Wales' recovery from a severe bout of typhoid fever.

During the Prince Consort's lifetime Christmas was always kept at Windsor, from his death to that of the Queen the Court was only twice in residence at that season, and on both occasions the Queen was more or less forced to do so. In 1876 there was much illness in the Isle of Wight and it was thought imprudent for the Queen to go there. On this occasion the Queen conquered her dislike of Court entertainments and held a concert in St. George's Hall on Boxing Day. Again in 1899 she found it imperative to remain fairly near London on account of the Boer War. This time St. George's Hall witnessed the Queen's entertainment of the wives and children of some of her soldiers.

Gradually her strenuous life of devotion to State business and public interest began to tell on the ageing Queen. The latter half of her reign reads as a succession of political crises, foreign "incidents," wars, mutinies, and threatened revolt. Victoria weathered every storm with indomitable courage and her own exceptionally clear foresight, but she became weary of the constant buffetings. She suffered the loss, one by one, of all her old friends and advisers; one daughter, two sons and nine

grandchildren died during her lifetime and she found herself, in spite of her still numerous family, very much alone, and subject to almost constant depression. In 1883 the Queen had a fall in the Castle, which laid her up for several months; almost a year later she was still unable to stand with comfort. This further added to the depression which was partly relieved by the tremendous evidences of loyalty during her two jubilee celebrations.

In 1900 the Queen roused herself to entertain regally at the Castle the Khedive of Egypt, and on the 12th of December she attended a sale of work in Windsor Town Hall, but her strength was failing rapidly, and the Court's removal to Osborne, later in the month, was the Queen's last journey. On the 22nd of January, 1901, she died peacefully, and was released from an exceptionally long lifetime which had been dedicated to the best interests of that Nation and Empire which had ever been her first thought and pride.



The Garter Tower, circa 1850.

CHAPTER XXIII

EDWARD THE PEACEMAKER

EDWARD VII appears and disappears in the annals of the history of Windsor Castle with somewhat bewildering frequency. His early years were passed largely at the Castle, but even in those days Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort moved from home to home, from place to place, with frequent regularity, taking both their children and the business of the State with them. Indeed, the Queen prided herself that her young family accepted these journeys with equanimity and appeared to thrive on them.

Prince Albert Edward, Queen Victoria's second child, was born on the 9th of November, 1841, and four weeks later the Court removed to Windsor Castle, where Christmas was kept with frank rejoicing and gaiety. The young Prince spent the greater part of his first year at the Castle, and his first birthday was duly celebrated there by all the available members of the Royal Family.

Later we have the picture of a command performance before the Queen, Prince Consort, and her two children, of the American dwarf, Tom Thumb. The Queen and her family were completely fascinated by the small man.

The Prince was not quite three years old when Queen Victoria entertained Louis-Philippe at Windsor Castle and invested him with the Order of the Garter. The King was afterwards entertained at a great banquet in St. George's Hall, and Queen Victoria seized this opportunity to bring forward her young children, much in the German fashion of good Queen Charlotte. The Princess Royal, aged not quite four years, and the small Prince of Wales, walked beside the Queen and her Royal guest during the procession to the banqueting hall. Fortunately for the young Prince and his sister they only remained to see the guests seated, and were then packed off to bed.

So continued the peaceful life of the young Prince, but, horrible thought! he was still officially clad in skirts. So, to mark his sixth birthday, which was celebrated at the Castle, he was officially breeched. From then onward life was a serious affair for the Prince of Wales, for his education became of primary importance. The syllabus was an arbitrary one, interrupted only by an occasional holiday, and a fairly severe dose of measles at the age of twelve, when the Queen, Prince Consort, and all their family, save the two youngest, had the malady in turn. At the age of sixteen the Prince of Wales was confirmed at the Castle; only the family were present, but the event was made the occasion for considerable subdued magnificence.

Very soon after this the Prince was given a personal establishment at White Lodge in Richmond Park, where study proceeded apace. He took a short course at Edinburgh University, then was entered as an undergraduate at Oxford. He left Oxford for a short while in order to attend the festivities in honour of his eighteenth birthday held at the Castle, and at the same time the Prince came into formal possession of Marlborough House which, however, saw little of him for several years more. The Prince returned to Oxford for a while, then went on his triumphal tour of Canada, and incognito visit to the United States. The young Prince fully justified the trust placed in him by his parents and his country, but on his return he was retired from public life to continue his studies at Oxford. Later, in January, 1867, he was entered at Cambridge to complete his prescribed studies there. During the long vacation he was stationed for six weeks at a military camp in Ireland, where he studied military manœuvres and experienced Army discipline. At the beginning of term he returned to Cambridge, but on December the 13th he was summoned to Windsor, to his father's deathbed.

Naturally, as chief mourner, the young Prince took a prominent part in all the arrangements for the funeral which, in accordance with the Prince Consort's expressed wish, was conducted with the utmost simplicity. The service was held in St. George's Chapel.

During these twenty years the Prince of Wales had been a frequent visitor at the Castle, for, in spite of Balmoral and Osborne, the Court still spent quite a while at Windsor. But his father's death had a profound effect on Queen Victoria's Court. She shunned the Castle as much as she could, returning

there, as far as possible, only for State receptions. She would suffer nothing to be changed; thus, in the course of forty years, the Castle became almost shabby, and its atmosphere gloomy beyond words. It is easy to understand why the Prince of Wales paid only brief visits to his mother there, while the pressure of constant diplomatic journeys to the Empire and abroad helps to explain why King Edward VII's visits were rare.

In 1862 the Castle knew a brief lightening of gloom, for Princess Alexandra of Denmark stayed there for a few weeks as the guest of Queen Victoria, but there were no festivities of any kind, and it says much for the Princess, that, at the age of nineteen, unaccompanied by her family, she was able to bear herself with dignity and sweet graciousness in an environment of intense grief and unremitting attentions to the Queen's dead husband.

The Prince of Wales's position as heir-apparent made it incumbent upon Queen Victoria to sanction considerable festivities in connection with his marriage, and thus the Castle once more knew a brief blaze of glory. On the 10th of March, 1863, many royalties, among them the five-year-old future Kaiser Wilhelm II, thronged the Castle, and eminent commoners were the Queen's guests. Jenny Lind sang during the service, Dickens was present, famous political names were to be found there, Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli; but the Queen sat apart in a gallery, and took no part in the actual ceremony. The wedding breakfast for the royalties was set in the dining-room where there was a magnificent cake more than five feet high, a still taller cake stood in St. George's Hall, where four hundred "other" guests were entertained. In the afternoon the Prince and Princess left the Castle and started off upon their honeymoon. They returned to the Castle for a short while a week later, from where they went to St. James's Palace to hold the first Court since the death of the Prince Consort, then, toward the end of March, the young couple took up their residence in the newly-decorated Marlborough House.

The rest of the story of the Prince of Wales scarcely concerns us here. The way in which he endeared himself to his people while conscientiously carrying out those duties which the Queen found herself unable to perform is common history, and his brief visits to the Castle must have gladdened its aged walls. The Duke of Clarence was born at Frogmore House, almost within the shadow of the Castle, King George V was christened there,

and the Queen was chief sponsor. The Prince of Wales occasionally lunched or dined there, he shot there, was present at relatives' marriages, but was scarcely intimately connected with its life.

The Queen died and her eldest son came to the Throne as Edward VII, but the interior of the Castle had become out of date, stale, and musty with disuse. The King's self-imposed task as peacemaker caused him to make as many journeys to the Empire and Europe as his health permitted, thus, during his short nine years' reign, much of his time was spent abroad. When he was at home Marlborough House and Sandringham remained his preferred residences; little wonder, then, that he was seldom at the Castle.

While the Court was still in deep mourning for Queen Victoria's death the King and Queen spent Easter at the Castle. Possibly this visit was what decided Edward VII to start the work of renovating and modernizing the private apartments. Ideas on modern lighting and plumbing had undergone revolutionary changes in the latter half of Queen Victoria's reign, and the state of the private apartments in the Castle rendered them almost unfit for the new King and Queen. Although something was done in this respect during Edward VII's lifetime, much was still wanting at his death, and when his son became King George V, a general state of confusion prevailed.

It therefore fell to the part of King George V's consort, our beloved Queen Mary, to arrange the interior decorations, and to leave the Castle in the exquisite taste and order which we moderns associate with it.

As Windsor Castle as a residence had powerful rivals in the affection of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, so it was with George V, who had inherited his mother's fondness for Sandringham, and his grandmother's delight in Balmoral. Nevertheless, King George, as Duke of York, was a moderately frequent visitor at the Castle from the day of his baptism there, while there are anecdotes dating back to the very young days of Princess May of Teck, who used to be taken to Windsor to visit Queen Victoria, who was, of course, her mother's first cousin.

One wonders whether, during these early visits, the future Queen of England ever wished that she could tackle the interior decoration of the Castle which, during Queen Victoria's reign, might almost be described as non-existent, and which in the reign of Edward VII was attempted but never really carried out

with sufficient knowledge and determination. Thus, when Queen Mary became *châtelaine* of the Royal palaces in 1910, she was faced with a state of too much of everything and very little in its place—in fact, King Edward had instituted a grand turnout of all cupboards, closets, and forgotten corners, with the result that there was a higgledy-piggledy profusion in urgent need of capable, knowledgeable selection and rearrangement. This task Queen Mary tackled with characteristic thoroughness, supplementing her instinctive, exquisite taste with reading and determined search for information which have made her an acknowledged expert in many matters concerning antiques and period furniture. The result was that when, in the course of time, the palaces became the care of another Royal lady their interior arrangements had achieved a perfection of balance which was unequalled throughout their history.

While Queen Mary's remarkable memory and talent for organization have become a byword to this generation, her indefatigability and resource are not perhaps so well known. These qualities have been proved in practical ways a thousand times, not the least successful of which was discovering a solution to the problem of suitable settee coverings for a Chinese scheme of decoration. When the question arose Her Majesty instantly remembered some very gorgeous, but hitherto useless, mandarin robes which had long laid neglected in that treasure house, the Castle lumber rooms. The result was, as usual, perfection. Her indefatigability in carrying out any task which Queen Mary sets herself is delightfully proved in the following extract:

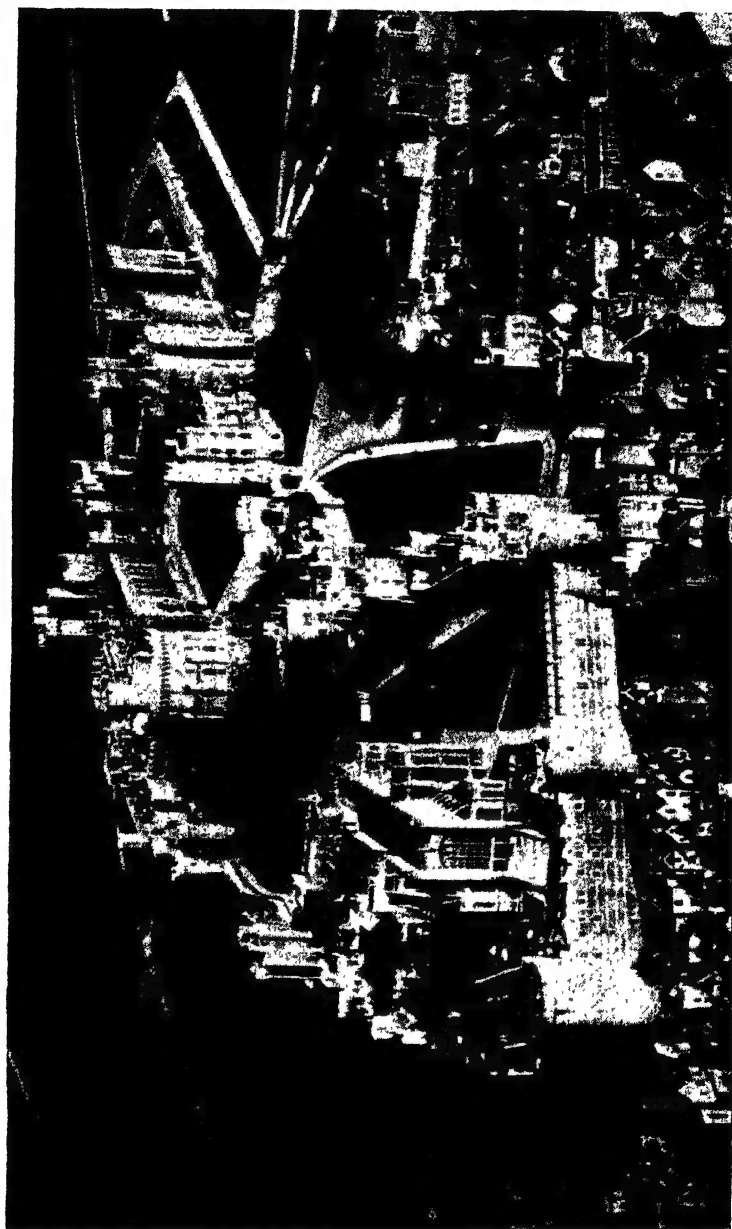
. . . There were to be fresh hangings and tapestries in the Blue Room at Windsor Castle. To blend the shades of the blue harmoniously was no easy matter, nor would such precision be essential but to the eye of an artist or a connoisseur of colour schemes in interior decoration. It was found necessary to observe the effects in half-lights. To induce the dark by shrouding out the light from the window was not to get the exquisite exactness of the darkening evening. 'We will wait for the night and I will come down,' said the Queen—and came, in a few fleeting moments snatched at a crowded time, immediately before dinner."

" 'Incidentally, I shall not forget,' said the veteran servant of the Castle whose responsibility the room happened to be, 'how



Country Life

The Throne Room. Pictures by Winterhalter, Shee, Lawrence, and Kneller



Fox

An aerial view of the Palace

amazingly beautiful the Queen looked with her sapphires on an old gold dinner-frock, the badge of the Garter on her arm. Her presence lit up the blue room. I held my breath at the strange and so entirely unexpected vision.' ”

Whenever one has the privilege of visiting the State and private apartments of Windsor Castle one immediately becomes conscious of the tremendous respect which the staff have for Queen Mary's knowledge and excellent memory, which embrace every single piece of furniture or picture, its history, and precise position according to her most recent decision. She has also done posterity the incalculable service of tabulating the description and history of every important piece, histories which in many instances have been discovered only as a result of painstaking, prolonged inquiries directed by Queen Mary.

Apart from State receptions and certain private visits King George V and Queen Mary stayed at Windsor Castle almost only during Ascot week, when they entertained brilliantly. It is impossible, here, to refrain from quoting one more extract:

“While I was packing my case to leave Windsor, I had noticed a kind of bustle and hurry about the housemaid in the corridor. I learned the cause later: she wanted to be spruce, and cleaned up before the Queen came round! It was then I learned that always Her Majesty came in person every morning to see that the guests' rooms were in due order. And I couldn't help feeling impressed to know that, in spite of all the million and one far greater and more important calls on the Queen's time, especially in the mornings, she yet made time for this courteous little ceremony. She could so easily not have troubled, and found every reason and excuse in the world for not bothering.”

These words, quoted by Queen Mary's biographer, were spoken to her by Mrs. Clynes, the wife of one of the ministers in the first Labour Government. In accordance with the practice of Queen Victoria throughout her reign, most of the eminent politicians and their wives were entertained at Windsor during the reign of George V, and, again in accordance with constitutional precedent, there was no discrimination on grounds of party, all were received with equal graciousness.

In 1911 occurred an incident which emphasized the amazing adjustment of the ancient Castle to modern progress. The King and his children were grouped on the steps of the East

Terrace to watch the descent, close to where they stood, of an aeroplane flown by Tom Sopwith, a young airman who was rapidly making his mark, and who had flown over from Brooklands. Young Sopwith was presented to His Majesty, who immediately asked to be shown the machine, which he and his sons inspected with considerable thoroughness. Perhaps this incident was responsible for our present King's expert interest in all things concerning aeronautics.

Seven months later King George V gave further practical encouragement to the infancy of aeroplanes. He permitted the first air-mail to make its base in the grounds at Windsor and, for a while, His Majesty's mail was taken the considerable distance of the twenty miles from London to Windsor by air. It is recorded that the ill-fated Gustav Hamel completed the first trip in ten minutes and carried, in the mail-bags, a letter sent by the Suffragettes to the then Prime Minister!

In 1921 extensive restorations were begun in St. George's Chapel which was known to have been in a bad state of preservation as far back as 1914, but the outbreak of war had delayed the very necessary repairs. Such was the state of the Chapel that this work was not finished until 1930.

The old Castle will always be grateful for its occupancy by the fifth George and his gracious, talented Consort. An occupancy which indeed was commemorated in the special Empire issue of Jubilee stamps. Their achievements are well known, and this generation must ever remain appreciative of that spirit of true democratic condescension which has permitted us to share so much of their lives, and which has so surely earned for both of them the title of "beloved."

The brief reign of Edward VIII was remarkable only in that he is the only English sovereign who, as King, never slept within the Castle walls and also that, after the Family dinner on the 11th of December, 1936, he was the first Royalty to broadcast from the Castle.

King George VI and his Consort, Queen Elizabeth, whom God preserve, are now the castellans of the ancient Castle, and all faithful subjects will wish them a right happy and worthy custodianship.

APPENDICES

CURIOSITIES OF WINDSOR CASTLE

IT would be impossible for such a place as Windsor Castle, with its long, romantic history, not to have associated with it many fables, legends, and items of curiosity. There are, indeed, so many that a collection of them would, in themselves, fill yet another volume. Of these I have collated a few of the more interesting, which I reproduce here in the hope that they will not prove too much of an anti-climax.

THE CURFEW TOWER

The Clewer or Curfew Tower is particularly interesting, chiefly because it is the oldest building in the Castle, and secondly, because it is open to the public and may be inspected by anyone who cares to mount the few steps leading up to its massive weather-beaten wooden door, and ring the bell marked "Keeper." To the antiquarian the Curfew Tower is more interesting than almost any other part of the Castle. To the sightseer the Keeper is probably even more interesting. He knows as much about the Tower as any antiquarian, and, I suspect, maybe more. With a little encouragement he will readily pass on his knowledge, and the visitor has a rare fifteen minutes of pleasure.

First the Keeper will allow his visitors to accustom their eyes to the gloom and to glance quickly round the interior of the Tower. They will see a vaulted chamber in the shape of a square and a half-octagon, twenty-two feet in diameter, with massive stone ribs, and walls twelve and a half feet in thickness, with deep arched recesses and loopholes. As soon as his visitors are interested the Keeper will explain that the Tower was built in the time of Henry III, and that it was built upon a chalk hill from which were quarried the very stones with which the Tower was built. The outside has been re-faced many times, but, to illustrate his point, he will lightly scrape one of the stones, to reveal, beneath the murk of centuries, the dazzling whiteness of chalk-stone.

Taking his visitors into one of the recesses he will explain how, in past days, the soldiers had fired arrows through the loopholes, and, later, guns. Particularly will he proudly exhibit a large cannon, pointing commandingly in the direction of Windsor Bridge. This cannon, he explains, was placed there by the orders of Oliver Cromwell. Next he will look upward, and

point to the upper part of the Tower, which comprises an inserted belfry built, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of massive oak timbers. The floor of the belfry is used for supporting a peal of eight bells, and a chiming clock which plays the tune "Saint David" at intervals of three hours. Of this clock the Keeper has more to say later on, but meanwhile he proudly reveals the fact that, in the whole of the floor, the twelve vertical uprights, and the eight curved braces, there is not one metal nail. All the timbers were anchored by oak pegs, and these pegs are still perfectly preserved. So, too, are the timbers, all of which were hand carved—this, considering the size of the uprights and the braces, must have been a terrific task. Still speaking of the timber-work in the Tower the Keeper quotes, without attempting to give any explanation, the astonishing fact that the oak uprights keep clean of their own accord, and that neither dust nor insects ever settle upon the wood.

When his visitors are duly impressed the Keeper leads them upstairs to the belfry, which in every way is similar in plan to the floor below. First the bells are inspected, and the visitors are able to read the dates for themselves: they range from 1612 to 1745. It is the machinery of the chimes which the Keeper is most eager to exhibit. He tells his visitors that this was cast by a blacksmith in the time of James II, and was of a secret alloy which neither expands with the heat nor contracts with the cold. When the blacksmith died the secret of the alloy died with him, and notwithstanding the efforts at research of scientists from that day to this the secret has not yet been rediscovered. The clock-maker who built the clock was, according to our Keeper, the inventor of counter-balance, a necessity forced upon the clock-maker by the clock's stopping whenever it was wound up.

So much for the belfry. On the way down the massive wooden staircase the visitor learns that behind the thick walls on his right is a secret passage leading down to a subterranean passage, or sally-port, which is beneath the base of the Curfew Tower. This subterranean passage is frequently inspected by members of learned societies, but only after three days' notice, to permit of the passage's being opened up to ensure the escape of any poison gas. Moreover, to inspect that passage one must seek the permission, first from the Crown, to whom the subterranean passage belongs, and then from the Dean of St. George's, who is responsible for the Curfew Tower.

Lastly, the Keeper takes his visitors down to the basement of the Curfew Tower. The basement is similar in design to the ground floor, but the recesses, it seems, instead of being used by soldiers, were once used as primitive cells. The Keeper particularly exhibits one of these recesses on the left-hand side of the Tower (as one enters). In it was once a prisoner who, apparently aware of the secret passage above, determined to dig a way to it through the wall. He succeeded in getting some distance up—as can be seen—but not far enough.

Thus the Curfew Tower! Both the Tower and the Keeper are worth a visit.

HERNE THE HUNTER

In speaking of guests at the Castle one should not forget a particularly notorious figure who was, according to the legend-mongers, a frequent visitant there. This was the ghostly spectre of Herne the Hunter, who has been thrice immortalized, first by Shakespeare, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, secondly by Harrison Ainsworth in *Windsor Castle*, and, more latterly, by Basil Hood in Edward German's comic opera, *Merrie England*.

Shakespeare makes Mrs. Quickly try to frighten the amorous Falstaff in a scene based on:

There is an old tale goes, that Herne the hunter,
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest,
Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,
Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horn
And there he blasts the tree, and takes the cattle;
And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain
In a most hideous and dreadful manner.

Ainsworth deals with Herne the Hunter in a far more dramatic manner. Referring to King Henry VIII, he writes:

"Henry paced slowly to and fro, utterly indifferent to the peril he ran—now watching the lightning as it shivered some oak in the Home Park—or lighted up the wide expanse of country around him—now listening to the roar of heaven's artillery, and he had just quitted the western extremity of the terrace, when the most terrific crash he had yet heard burst over him. The next instant, a dozen forked flashes shot from the sky, while fiery coruscations blazed athwart it; and at the same moment a bolt struck the Wykeham tower, beside which he had been recently standing. Startled by the appalling sound, he turned and beheld upon the battlemented parapet on his left, a tall ghostly figure, whose antlered helm told him it was Herne the Hunter. Dilated against the flaming sky, the proportions of the demon seemed gigantic. His right hand was stretched forth towards the King, and in his left he held a rusty chain. Henry grasped the handle of his sword, and partly drew it, keeping his gaze fixed upon the figure."

Another writer of Windsor's history says: "Side by side with the jolly figure of Henry VIII rises the vision of Herne the phantom hunter who was the terror of Windsor Forest. We see him grinning from the branches of the giant oak named after him, striding by the great lake, or rushing like a whirlwind through the glades on his coal-black steed, with stags' horns standing out from his helmet and eyes rolling like balls of fire. Indeed, according to ghostly legend, the phantom hunter kept a vigilant watch over the doings of the great Tudor monarch and had a Mephistophelian habit of appearing at critical moments in Henry's career. When the boom of the gun on the battlements of the Round Tower tolled the death-knell of Anne Boleyn, Herne appeared to the King as he rode in the forest and hurled at

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the despot this taunt: "The bloody deed is done. Thou art free to wed once more. Away! Bring thy new consort to Windsor Castle!" "

Brayley and Britton tell a rather different story of Herne, for they assert that he was a keeper of the forest in the time of Elizabeth—which would make it rather impossible for his spectre to appear to Elizabeth's father! Herne, apparently, having been guilty of some offence, for which he expected to be disgraced, hung himself upon the oak which, for centuries afterward, was known as Herne's Oak, and was only cut down in the early part of the nineteenth century. Various tea-caddies, and other small articles, say these authors, were made from the remains of the oak, and are still preserved by some of the inhabitants of Windsor. One source states that one of these small caskets was presented to Queen Victoria who, for many years, preserved it at the Castle.

CORRESPONDENCE EXTRACTED FROM ISSUES OF *Notes and Queries*

(Sept., 1859)

Baron of Beef at Windsor.—I shall feel much obliged to any of your readers who can tell me by what contrivance the baron of beef is roasted every year at Windsor, as probably the grate is not of a size capable of doing so, without some contrivance.

DUBLIN.

A SUBSCRIBER.

—The baron of beef is roasted at Windsor by the same contrivance which was and still may be used for the same purpose at Arundel Castle, viz., a strong spit to support the meat, and strong beer to support the men who sat up all night to watch it. On one occasion the spit broke under the baronial weight, and Vulcanic advice had to be sought in the middle of the night.

G. H. K.

Royal Remains.—The following passage, detailing the present state of some of the Royal remains at Windsor, is worth a corner in "N. & Q." Those of your readers whose memory reaches back to the days when George IV was King, will call to mind the last time when these relics were exposed to the light of day:—

"In excavating for the temporary grave, a small opening was made into the vault which contains the coffins of Henry VIII and one of his Queens, the Lady Jane Seymour, also the coffins of Charles I and an infant child of Queen Anne. The coffins, and even the crimsons on which are placed the coronets, were in a tolerable state of preservation, and the spear-hole in the coffin of Henry VIII, said to have been made by one of the soldiers of

Oliver Cromwell, was clearly discernible." *The Times*, March 23, 1861.

What foundation is there for the story of Cromwell's soldier having driven his spear into the coffin of Henry VIII?

GRIME.

1878)

The Windsor Sentinel and St. Paul's.¹—Years ago I discovered after a weary search, in a newspaper of the period, the name of the famous sentinel at Windsor who heard St. Paul's bell strike thirteen times, and the story I see sometimes repeated without acknowledgement. *Sic vos non vobis*. Piracy and compilation go hand in hand together. What was the "old soldier's" name?

MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT.

The Windsor Sentinel and St. Paul's.—In a volume of newspaper cuttings in my possession is a tale called "The Thirteenth Chime: a Legend of Old London." It is unfortunately not dated, but was apparently issued about thirty years ago. The sentinel's name in it is Mark Huntly.

T. W. C.

(April, 1905)

Windsor Castle Sentry.—The incident of the sentry at Windsor Castle condemned to death for sleeping at his post, but reprieved on proving that he heard the clock at St. Paul's Cathedral strike thirteen at midnight, was made the subject of a melodrama, part of the title of which was "The Thirteenth Chime." I remember seeing it announced for performance, probably at the Surrey or Victoria Theatre, about the year 1859, but I regret that I cannot give precise information on these points. There has been much discussion among experts as to the possibility of a clock like that of St. Paul's striking thirteen and no more. As I do not wish to spoil a good story, I will not pursue this point, and I will say nothing about the distance between London and Windsor.

R. B. P.

(Dec., 1877)

Supposed Sallyport at Windsor Castle.—Looking through some old volumes of the *Illustrated London News*, I find that the number for March

¹ This story is still solemnly retailed to visitors by the cheerful guides and attendants at Windsor Castle.

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13, 1852, notices the discovery of an ancient subterraneous passage near the Garter and Julius Cæsar Towers, which at the time was "conjectured to be the ancient sallyport from the Castle, made as a means of escape in case of siege or invasion, and that it passed under the river to Burnham Abbey which is about three miles distant, where there is a corresponding passage proceeding in the direct line to Windsor."

It was hoped at the time that the exploration of the passage—of which the *Illustrated News* gives an illustration, and which had been partially cleared out—would be continued. I should be very glad to learn if further investigation was made, and also what foundation there is for the statement that a subterraneous passage exists at Burnham Abbey.

W. L. R.

—The passage discovered near the Garter Tower led out into the fields near the Castle. Another subterranean passage, cut through the chalk rock, was discovered about the year 1862 under the York Tower, which tradition said led to Burnham Abbey. It was evident from its position and character that it was merely a sallyport, connecting the interior of the existing defences (about the time of Henry VI) with the bottom of the ancient ditch which protected the Castle in those days on three sides. To satisfy antiquarians, however, a detachment of sappers and miners was employed to follow up the passage in 1867, which was found, as was expected, to terminate at the foot of the old counterscarp in a stone gateway. A gallery was then driven through the filled-in ground, across the bottom of the ditch, until the foot of the ancient counterscarp was reached, and on that side, as well as on the escarp side, no trace of an opening was found. The matter was thus set at rest, although it was not likely that a tunnel would be made under the Thames, through its porous gravel bed, and in a line with the ford which was then the line of direct communication with Burnham, not to speak of such a work being impossible of execution in those days, viz., the construction of a tunnel under a river and through a level country little better than a marsh. A third passage of the same character was also found by the sappers in their search, which led into the eastern ditch.

HENRY F. PONSONBY.

(Dec., 1876)

St. George's Chapel, Windsor.—Can any of your readers inform me whether there exists in any public work on St. George's Chapel, Windsor, an account of statues ever having been inserted in the numerous empty niches on the exterior of that building? I have examined these with some care, but have hitherto been unable to discover the remains of cramps or dilapidations which would necessarily have been caused by the removal of

such occupants. Yet it is difficult to imagine that these niches, furnished as they are with the necessary pedestals for statues, should have been thus unmeaningly introduced, especially in an age when such ornamentation was so general, particularly on ecclesiastical edifices, the only examples to that effect being over the exterior of the great western window, and those being of a much later period than the chapel, i.e., about the middle of the seventeenth century.

M. E.

(Feb., 1922)

Privileges of the Dean and Canons of Windsor.—Some of the terms expressing these are curious. The Dean and Chapter are free from payment of Ward penny, Aver penny, Tithing penny, and Hundred penny, and are discharged from Grithbrech, Forstall, Homesoken, Blod-wite, Ward-wite, Heng-wite, Fight-wite, Leyr-wite, Lastage, etc. (quoted by Pote in 'Antiquities of Windsor'). Some of the terms in the latter list deserved a footnote in Mr. Pote's work.

R. B.

(July, 1928)

Janitor of the Tower of Windsor Castle.—My maternal grandfather held, among other Court offices, the post of Janitor of the Tower of Windsor Castle. I cannot find in my books of reference any allusion to it. I should value any information respecting it. My mother used to tell me that it meant keeping the key—for which he received £80 a year; a mere sinecure. I have a portrait of my grandfather in the picturesque Windsor uniform. In which reign was this uniform adopted?

J. P. BACON PHILLIPS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GREVILLE MEMOIRS

(Aug. 24, 1830)

The dinner in St. George's Hall on the King's birthday was the finest thing possible—all good and hot, and served on the late King's gold plate. There were one hundred people at table. After dinner the King gave the Duke of Wellington's health, as it was the anniversary of Vimeiro; the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester turned their glasses down. I can't agree with Charles X that it would be better to "*travailler pour son pain*" than to be King of England.

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(Aug. 31st, 1830)

Sefton gave me an account of the dinner in St. George's Hall on the King's birthday, which was magnificent—excellent and well served. Bridge¹ came down with the plate, and was hid during the dinner behind the great wine-cooler, which weighs 7,000 ounces, and he told Sefton afterwards that the plate in the room was worth £200,000. There is another service of gold plate, which was not used at all. The King has made it all over to the Crown. All this plate was ordered by the late King, and never used; his delight was ordering what the public had to pay for.

(June 5th, 1831)

All last week at Fern Hill for the Ascot races; the Chesterfields, Tavistocks, Belfasts, George Ansons, Montague, Stradbroke, and Brooke Greville were there. The Royal Family came to the course the first day with a great *cortège*—eight coaches-and-four, two phaetons, pony sociables, and led horses—Munster riding on horseback behind the King's carriage, Augustus (the parson) and Frederick driving phaetons. The Duke of Richmond was in the King's *calèche* and Lord Grey in one of the coaches. The reception was strikingly cold and indifferent, not half so good as that which the late King used to receive. William was bored to death with the races, and his own horse broke down. On Wednesday the Court did not come; on Thursday they came again. Beautiful weather and unprecedented multitudes. The King was much more cheered than the first day, or the greater number of people made a greater noise. A few cheers were given to Lord Grey as he returned, which he just acknowledged and no more. On Friday we dined at the Castle; each day the King asked a crowd of people from the neighbourhood. We arrived at a little before seven; the Queen was only just come in from riding, so we had to wait till near eight. Above forty people at dinner, for which the room is not nearly large enough; the dinner was not bad, but the room insufferably hot. The Queen was taken out by the Duke of Richmond, and the King followed with the Duchess of Saxe Weimar, the Queen's sister. He drinks wine with everybody, asking seven or eight at a time. After dinner he drops asleep. We sat for a short time. Directly after coffee the band began to play; a good band, not numerous, and principally of violins and stringed instruments. The Queen and the whole party sat there all the evening, so that it was, in fact, a concert of instrumental music. The King took Lady Tavistock to St. George's Hall and the ball-room, where we walked about, with two or three servants carrying lamps to show the proportions, for it was not lit up. The whole thing is exceedingly magnificent, and the manner of life does

¹ Of the House of Rundell and Bridge, the great silversmiths and jewellers of the day.

not appear to be very formal, and need not be disagreeable but for the bore of never dining without twenty strangers. The Castle holds very few people, and with the King's and Queen's immediate suite and *toute la bâtardise* it was quite full. The King's four sons were there, *signoreggianti tutti*, and the whole thing "donnait à penser" to those who looked back a little and had seen other days. We sat in that room in which Lyndhurst had—he has often talked to me of it—the famous five hours' discussion with the late King, when the Catholic Bill hung upon his caprice. Palmerston told me he had never been in the Castle since the eventful day of Herries' appointment and non-appointment; and how many things have happened since! What a *changement de décoration*; no longer George IV, capricious, luxurious, and misanthropic, liking nothing but the society of listeners and flatterers, with the Conyngham tribe and one or two Tory Ministers and foreign Ambassadors; but a plain, vulgar, hospitable gentleman, opening his doors to all the world, with a numerous family and suite, a Whig Ministry, no foreigners, and no toad-eaters at all. Nothing can be more different, and looking at him one sees how soon this act will be finished, and the scene be changed for another probably not less dissimilar. . . .

(Dec. 15th, 1838)

Went on Wednesday to a Council at Windsor, and after the Council was invited to stay that night; rode with the Queen, and after riding Melbourne came to me and said Her Majesty wished me to stay the next day also. This was very gracious and very considerate, because it was done for the express purpose of showing that she was not displeased at my not staying when asked on a former occasion, and as she can have no object whatever in being civil to me, it was a proof of her good-nature and thoughtfulness about other people's little vanities, even those of the most insignificant. Accordingly I remained till Friday morning, when I went with the rest of her suite to see the hounds throw off, which she herself saw for the first time. The Court is certainly not gay, but it is perhaps impossible that any Court should be gay where there is no social equality; where some ceremony, and a continual air of deference and respect must be observed, there can be no ease, and without ease there can be no real pleasure. The Queen is natural, good-humoured, and cheerful, but still she is Queen, and by her must the social habits and the tone of conversation be regulated, and for this she is too young and inexperienced. She sits at a large round table, her guests around it, and Melbourne always in a chair beside her, where two mortal hours are consumed in such conversation as can be found, which appears to be, and really is, very up-hill work. This, however, is the only bad part of the whole; the rest of the day is passed without the slightest constraint, trouble, or annoyance to anybody; each person is at liberty to employ himself or herself as best pleases them, though very little

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is done in common, and in this respect Windsor is totally unlike any other place. There is none of the sociability which makes the agreeableness of an English country house: there is no room in which the guests assemble, sit, lounge and talk as they please and when they please; there is a billiard table, but in such a remote corner of the Castle that it might as well be in the town of Windsor; and there is a library well stocked with books, but hardly accessible, imperfectly warmed, and only tenanted by the librarian: it is a mere library, too, unfurnished, and offering none of the comforts and luxuries of a habitable room. There are two breakfast rooms, one for the ladies and the guests, and the other for the equeries, but when the meal is over everybody disperses, and nothing but another meal reunites the company, so that, in fact, there is no society whatever, little trouble, little etiquette but very little resource or amusement.

The life which the Queen leads is this: she gets up soon after eight o'clock, breakfasts in her own room, and is employed the whole morning in transacting business; she reads all the dispatches, and has every matter of interest and importance in every department laid before her. At eleven or twelve Melbourne comes to her and stays an hour, more or less, according to the business he may have to transact. At two she rides with a large suite (and she likes to have it numerous); Melbourne always rides on her left hand, and the equerry in waiting generally on her right; she rides for two hours along the road, and the greater part of the time at a full gallop; after riding she amuses herself for the rest of the afternoon with music and singing, playing, romping with children, if there are any in the Castle (and she is so fond of them that she generally contrives to have some there) or in any other way she fancies. The hour of dinner is nominally half past seven o'clock, soon after which time the guests assemble, but she seldom appears till after eight. The lord in waiting comes into the drawing-room and instructs each gentleman which lady he is to take in to dinner. When the guests are all assembled the Queen comes in, preceded by the gentlemen of her household, and followed by the Duchess of Kent and all her ladies; she speaks to each lady, bows to the men, and goes immediately in to the dining-room. She generally takes the arm of the man of the highest rank, but on this occasion she went with Mr. Stephenson, the American Minister (though he has no rank), which was very wisely done. Melbourne invariably sits on her left, no matter who may be there; she remains at table the usual time, but does not suffer the men to sit long after her, and we were summoned to coffee in less than a quarter of an hour. In the drawing-room she never sits down till the men make their appearance. Coffee is served to them in the adjoining room, and then they go into the drawing-room, when she goes round and says a few words to each, of the most trivial nature, all however very civil and cordial in manner and expression. When this little ceremony is over the Duchess of Kent's whist table is arranged, and then the round table is marshalled, Melbourne invariably sitting on the left hand of the Queen and remaining there without moving till the evening

is at an end. At about half-past eleven she goes to bed, or whenever the Duchess has played her usual number of rubbers, and the band have performed all the pieces on their list for the night. This is the whole history of her day: she orders and regulates every detail herself, she knows where everybody is lodged in the Castle, settles about the riding or driving, and enters into every particular with minute attention. But while she personally gives her orders to her various attendants, and does everything that is civil to all the inmates of the Castle, she really has nothing to do with anybody but Melbourne, and with him she passes (if not in tête-à-tête yet in intimate communication) more hours than any two people, in any relation of life, perhaps ever do pass together besides.¹ He is at her side for at least six hours every day—an hour in the morning, two on horseback, one at dinner, and two in the evening. This monopoly is certainly not judicious; it is not altogether consistent with social usage, and it leads to an infraction of those rules of etiquette which it is better to observe with regularity at Court. But it is more peculiarly inexpedient with reference to her own future enjoyment, for if Melbourne should be compelled to resign, her privation will be the more bitter on account of the exclusiveness of her intimacy with him. Accordingly her terror when any danger menaces the Government, her nervous apprehension at any appearance of change, affect her health, and upon one occasion during the last Session she actually fretted herself into an illness at the notion of their going out. It must be owned that her feelings are not unnatural, any more than those which Melbourne entertains towards her. His manner to her is perfect, always respectful, and never presuming upon the extraordinary distinction he enjoys; hers to him is simple and natural, indicative of the confidence she reposes in him, and of her lively taste for his society, but not marked by any unbecoming familiarity. Interesting as his position is, and flattered, gratified and touched as he must be by the confiding devotion with which she places herself in his hands, it is still marvellous that he should be able to overcome the force of habit so completely as to endure the life he leads. Month after month he remains at the Castle, submitting to this daily routine: of all men he appeared to be the last to be broken in to the trammels of a Court, and never was such a revolution seen in anybody's occupations and habits. Instead of indolently sprawling in all the attitudes of luxurious ease, he is always sitting bolt upright; his free and easy language interlarded with "damns" is carefully guarded and regulated with the strictest propriety, and he has exchanged the good talk of Holland House for the trivial, laboured, and wearisome inanities of the Royal circle.

¹ The Duke of Wellington says that Melbourne is quite right to go and stay at the Castle as much as he does, and that it is very fit he should instruct the young Queen in the business of government, but he disapproves of his being always at her side, even contrary to the rules of etiquette; for as a Prime Minister has no precedence, he ought not to be placed in the post of honour to the exclusion of those of higher rank than himself.

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(Sept. 22nd, 1840)

Guizot committed a great *gaucherie* the other day (the last time he was at Windsor), which he never could have done if he had had more experience of Courts, or been born and had lived in that Society. The first day, the Queen desired he would sit next to her at dinner, which he did; the second day the Lord-in-waiting (Headfort) came as usual with his list, and told Guizot he was to take out the Queen of the Belgians, and sit somewhere else; when he drew up and said, 'Milord, ma place est auprès de la Reine.' Headfort, quite frightened, hastened back to report what had happened; when the Queen as wisely altered, as the Ambassador had foolishly objected to, the disposition of places, and desired him to sit next herself, as he had done the day before.

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